

THE EASTERN SCHOOL
OF
PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS
A LINGUISTIC STUDY

By

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INTRODUCTION

1. *Statement of the Problem*

§1. We have cartloads of Prakrit grammatical treatises beginning from the remotest antiquity down to the 17th century A.D., but all of them are not available at present, although a good number of them has been brought to light uptil now. From a careful perusal of all these extant Prakrit grammatical texts, it will be evident that Prakrit grammarians can be divided into two distinct groups¹—the sūtras of each group could be studied together, excepting a few additional peculiarities and illustrations. Each group is distinguished by its salient and dominant linguistic peculiarities, by the inheritance of the contents as well as by the adoption of the former sūtras in their respective treatises, and by the definite mention of their predecessors with their opinions sometimes included therein. Even in the employment of their grammatical terminology there is little uniformity between these two groups. With regard to their accounts of dialects the absence of agreement is still more marked. This may be well illustrated when we discuss the grammars of Vararuci, Bhāmaha, Puruṣottama, Kramadīśvara, Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya—forming one group. It may be seen that some of the linguistic peculiarities or approach of these grammarians are quite different from those of Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Siṃharāja, Lakṣmidhara, Appayyadiṣita, Śubhacandra, and Śrutasaṅgara—forming the other group. The former group (generally belonging to the eastern region of India) is called, for the purpose of convenience, the Eastern School (where I include Vararuci also, because Mārkaṇḍeya mentions him among his

1. This is a revised version of my article, *A note on the two Schools of Prakrit grammarians*, Jaina Bhāratī, a special number, Calcutta, 1964, pp. 32-41

sources); while the latter is called the Western School—belonging mostly to the Western part of India—following the terminology of Sir George Abraham Grierson¹ who, as far as I know, was the first man to call these two groups by these two names, of course, without furnishing us sufficient material in order to substantiate his remarks. It is to be noted also that all the grammarians of the Western School² do not belong to the Western half of India—e.g. Trivikrama, Appayyadiṣita come from the South; but they follow the grammar of the Western School, particularly of Hemacandra—the most representative grammarian of this School. Similarly, Bhāmaha, the well-known commentator of Vararuci's sūtras, belonged “neither to East nor to West, but was a native of Kashmir”,³ yet he followed the diction of the Eastern School. Caṇḍa's grammar may be placed in neither school, it should be kept by itself; although one may be inclined to put him with Hemacandra on account of some similarities. It must, therefore, be admitted that we must not attach too much importance to the limitation of this regional terminology that each of the grammarians must belong to either region; but it is to be remembered that one may belong to either

1. Grierson mentions by name only Vararuci (with Vasantarāja), Kramadīśvara, Laṅkeśvara, Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya for the Eastern School, while those of Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Siṃharāja and Lakṣmīdhara for the Western School. Vide—*Rājasekhara and the Home of Pāṣāṇī*, JRAS, 1921 p. 425ff; *Humm—gatau*, JRAS, 1922 p. 79; *The Apabhraṃśa—Stabakas of Rāmaśarman (Tarkavāgiśa)*, IA, 1922 Vol. XLI, p. 13; *The Prakṛita-Dhātuvādeśas, according to the Western and the Eastern Schools of Prakṛit grammarians*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, No. 2, Calcutta, 1924, p. 89; *The Eastern School of Prakṛit Grammarians and Pāṣāṇī Prakṛit*, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III, Part 2, Calcutta, 1925, p. 120ff; *Prakṛitica*, JRAS, 1925, pp. 215-36; *The Śauraseni and Māgadhi Stabakas of Rāmaśarman (Tarkavāgiśa)*, IA, 1927, Vol. XLVI (Supplementary Issue), p. 1ff.

2. Barnett, JRAS, 1921, p. 588 also conjectures a Southern School. But we are not yet sure about the existence of this School. Barnett's reasons are not conclusive.

3. *The Prakṛita—Dhātuvādeśas* p. 82.

part of India, yet one may follow the diction of any one of the two schools. This helps us to put the grammarians with their predecessors and successors into these two schools.

§2. It must also be admitted that for all practical purposes this division is good ; but that does not mean that there is no connection between the two, that one is not influenced by the other in subsequent times. We, therefore, should not make this demarcation water-tight. As Vararuci is the earliest known Prakrit grammarian, it is likely that both the groups may be indebted to him in recording some of the linguistic peculiarities of his time and these are common to both of them, although they differ in other respects. As, for example, so far as Mahārāṣṭrī dialect is concerned, except for dealing with Dhātvādeśa, there are minor differences between the two Schools ; but we may attach some importance to the account of Apabhraṃśa by the Easterners, which departs widely from that of the Westerners like Hemacandra, Trivikrama and others. When we come to Māgadhi the case is altogether different. Māgadhi being an eastern dialect, its account “differs in important points of phonetics and accidence from that given by the Westerners”.¹ The Eastern grammarians treat the Śaurasenī and Paisācī of various kinds much more fully than does Hemacandra or Trivikrama. Moreover, “the easterners describe a number of minor dialects and sub-dialects which are altogether omitted from consideration by the others”.² Taking all these facts into consideration Grierson concludes that “there was never one uniform school of Prakrit Grammarians for the whole of India. There were certainly at least an Eastern and a Western School which had marked variations in their teachings. Each school had its own distinct line of descent. In each case, teacher succeeded teacher, inheriting the traditions of his predecessors, and each adding his contribution of new facts gathered from literature or from his own experience. But each school

1. JRAS, 1921, p. 426. Also quoted by Grierson in his “*The Prākṛit—Dhātvādeśas*”.

2. *Ibid.*

developed independently of the other, so that after the lapse of centuries the divergencies became very wide".¹ Besides some minor details there is nothing to say against his theory of the two schools of Prakrit grammarians. Moreover, the discovery of Puruṣottama's *Prākṛtānuśāsana* has given us an additional support to his theory.

2. Grammatical Texts belonging to the two Schools

§3. Before discussing the grammarians of the Eastern School it would be worthwhile to arrange almost chronologically in a tabulated form the important grammarians belonging to these two schools. The table in two groups is shown at page 5. As Grierson has not mentioned all the authors and works listed in the table, an asterisk (*) mark is put after authors, who are excluded by him.

3. Other texts and authors.

§4. Besides these treatises and authors mentioned in the table at page 5, there existed a large number of grammatical works. We do not know anything about many of them except the names of authors and the titles of their works. Thus the *Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa* attributed to Pāṇini² can be summarily rejected in the absence of any evidence. We have meagre information about Durganācārya's *Ṣaḍbhāṣārūpamālikā*,³ Nāgobā's *Ṣaḍbhāṣāsubantarūpādarśa*,⁴ Bhāmakavi's *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā*,⁵ Vāmanācārya's *Prākṛta-candrikā*⁶ and Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita alias Śeṣakṛṣṇa's *Prākṛta-candrikā*.⁷ Unless these works are carefully studied, we cannot say definitely anything about them. We know only the

1. The *Prākṛit-Dhātuvādesas* p 82.

2. Hoernle in his edition of Caṇḍa's *Prākṛta-lakṣaṇam*, Calcutta, 1880, introduction.

3. Mentioned by Lakṣmīdhara in his *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* p. 22 of Trivedi's edition.

4. Pischel, *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §39.

5. Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.* I. 679b.

6. Pischel, *Ibid.*, §41.

7. Peterson's *Third Report*, pp. 342-48.

The Eastern School		The Western School	
Authors	Works	Authors	Works
1. Śākalya* Māṇḍavya* Kohala* Kapila* Bharata*	? Ref. in Pu, RT & MK. ? Ref. in RT & MK ? Ref. in MK. ? Ref. in RT. & MK. ? Ref. in MK. cf. Bharata's <i>Nāṭya-śāstra</i> ch. XVII <i>Prākṛta-prakāśa</i>	1. [? Vālmiki*] 2. Namisādhū* 3. Hemacandra	[? Some sūtras] Ref. commentary on Rudrata's <i>Kavyālaṅkāra</i> II.12. <i>Prākṛta-vyākaraṇa</i>
3. Vararuci		<i>Commentators :</i>	
4. Commentators on Vararuci :		i) Udayasaubhāgyagaṇi*	<i>Vyutpattidīpikā</i>
i) Kātyāyana*(?)	<i>Prākṛta-mañjarī</i>	ii) Nara-(Narendra)-candrasūri*	<i>Prākṛta-prabodha</i>
ii) Bhāmaha	<i>Manoramā-vṛtti</i>	<i>Followers :</i>	
iii) Vasantarāja	<i>Prākṛta-sañjivani</i>	iii) Śimhadevagaṇi*	Ref. commentary on <i>Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra</i> II.2.
iv) Sadānanda*	<i>Subodhini</i>	4. Trivikrama	<i>Prākṛta-vyākaraṇa</i>
v) Nārāyaṇa		<i>A selection from him by :</i>	
vi) Vidyāvinoda*	<i>Prākṛta-pādaṭīkā</i>	i) Narasiṃha*	<i>Prākṛta (śabda) Pradīpikā</i>
vii) Rāmapāṇivāda*	[<i>Prākṛtaṭīkā</i>]		<i>Prākṛta-rūpavāṭara</i>
viii) Raghunātha*	<i>Prākṛtānanda</i>		<i>Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā</i>
5. Kramadīśvara	<i>Samkṣiptasārīya</i>		<i>Prākṛtamañḍipā</i>
	<i>Prākṛtādhyāya</i>		<i>Ṣaḍbhāṣāvivaraṇa</i>
	<i>Prākṛtānuśāsana</i>		<i>Śabda-cintāmaṇi</i>
	<i>Prākṛta-kalpataru</i>		<i>Āudāryacinī-tāmaṇi</i>
6. Puruṣottama*			
7. Rāmaśarman (Tarkavāgīśa)			
8. Mārkaṇḍeya	<i>Prākṛta-sarvasva</i>		
9. Jīva Gosvāmī*(?)	<i>Harināmāmrte</i>		
	<i>Prākṛtapāda</i>		
10. Rāvaṇa Laṅkeśvara	<i>Prākṛta-kāmadhenu</i>		

names of Samantabhadra,¹ Appayajvan,² Candrasekhara,² Nṛsimha,² Puṣpavanānātha,² Bhoja² and Bhāradvāja² as authors of Prakrit grammars. But no work of them has yet come to light. Works like *Deśiprakāśa*,³ *Deśiprasiddha*³ (?), *Prākṛta-kalpalatikā*,³ *Prākṛtabhāṣāntaravidhāna*,³ *Prākṛtasāroddhāra-vṛtti*,⁴ *Prākṛtasāhitya-ratnākara*,⁴ *Bhāṣābheda*,⁴ *Bhāṣārṇava*,⁴ *Bhāṣāvivecana*,⁵ *Ṣaḍbhāṣamāñjari*,⁶ *Ṣaḍbhāṣāvārtika*,⁶ *Ṣaḍbhāṣāvicāra*⁶ are mere names and, therefore, we are unable to pass any remark on them. We get some characteristic features of Prakrit language in the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*.⁷ But these features are extremely scanty and it is very difficult for us to ascertain to what school the author is indebted.

CHAPTER ONE

FRAGMENTS OF THE EARLIEST EASTERN PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS

I. Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila¹

§5. At the top of the Eastern School mention may be made of Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala, and Kapila, the earliest reference to whom as Prakrit grammarians is found in the works of Puruṣottama,² Rāmatarkavāgiśa³ and Mārkaṇḍeya,⁴ who occasionally adopt their views in their treatises of Prakrit grammar. Mārkaṇḍeya, while referring to his predecessors on whom he depended, mentions not only Śākalya and Kohala but also Bharata, Vararuci, Bhāmaha and Vasantarāja in the preamble of his grammar *Prākṛta-sarvasva*.⁵ Māṇḍavya is mentioned only by Rāmatarkavāgiśa. Kapila is referred to by both Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya. As all these authors belong to the eastern school, it is possible to surmise that Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala, and Kapila may have also belonged to this school, or their views were accepted by the easterners.

§6. We do not know anything about Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala, and Kapila, as authors of Prakrit grammars, nor do we know any Prakrit grammars, still extant, under their names. However, their views, culled out from the texts of

Puruṣottama, Rāmatarkavāgiśa and Mārkaṇḍeya with regard to some of the forms of Prakrit accepted and supported by them, are given below.

§7. 1. *Formative suffixes* : a) Consonantal feminine word is formed with *ī* only (Śā.¹ 10) ; otherwise, with *ī* or *ā*, e.g. *māṇiṇī*, *māṇamsinī*, but *sohaṇā* and *sohaṇī*.

b) “matup” is formed with *ha* (Śā & Mā. 2); otherwise, *alla* or *ella* ; e.g. *ekkahō*, but *ekkallo*, *ekkello* ; *puttaho*, but *puttallo*, *puttello*.

c) In the past participle (“*kta*”), in the infinitive (“*tum*”) and in the indeclinable participle (“*ktivā*”) *e* or *i* is added (Śā & Mā. 5). (No example is given).

2. *Declension of the Second Personal Pronoun* :

a) Accusative plural—*tumbhe* (Śā & Mā 4), otherwise, *tujjhe*, *tumhe*.

b) Locative plural—*tumbhesu(m)*, *tujjhesu(m)* and *tumhesu(m)* (Śā 11).

3. *Future* : It is formed with <*ssa*> instead of *ei* ; (Śā 1). (No example is given).

4. *Gerund* : *ktivā* is formed with *tu*, *tum* (or *tumam*) (Śā & Mā 3). (No example is given).

5. *Verbal substitute* : (Śā 6 & 7).

Skt. \sqrt{tvar} Pkt. *tuvara-i*.

„ $\sqrt{bhīd}$ „ *bhinda-i*.

„ $\sqrt{chīd}$ „ *chinda-i*.

6. *Śaurasenī* : Two verbal substitutes of this dialect are given : Skt. $\sqrt{bhū}$ Śau. *ho* (Śā 9 & 12) ; Skt. \sqrt{grah} Śau. *gahi* (not *geṇha*) (Ka. 14 & 15) in *tavya* and *kta*.

7. *Māgadhī* : Māgadhī is spoken by demons (*rākṣasas*), by religious mendicants (*bhikṣu*), by the Jainas (*kṣapaṇaka*) by the menials (*ceṭī*). (Ko. 13).

1. Here Śā, Mā, Ko & Ka stand for Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kōhala, and Kapila respectively ; and the number after them refers to the text, for which, vide Appendix A.

II. Bharata

§8. Next in the line is Bharata¹ whom Mārkaṇḍeya mentions among his sources (vide §5). We do not know any Prakrit grammar attributed to Bharata, nor is his authority as a Prakrit grammarian attested by any other reference. However the passages from Bharata as cited by Mārkaṇḍeya are given below :

Mārkaṇḍeya's Prākṛta-sarvasva.	Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra.
1. <i>yad āha paramarṣir Bharataḥ- "dhātu-prātipadika-kṛt-taddhita- sup-tiñ-samāsādīnām te' rthāstāśca vibhaktayaḥ / pariṇatir iha param anyā" iti // (1.1).</i>
2. "prācyā vidūṣakādīnām"-iti Bharataḥ/ (X. 1).	2. <i>prācyā vidūṣakādīnām (Nś. 17. 52).</i>
3. <i>yad āha Bharataḥ-"dāṇḍika pāṇika-pāṇika-nagarādhipa- dāṇḍa-pāṇika-sadrkṣeṣu/ madhyamapātṛeṣu sadā yojyū' vantī tu nāṭyavidhau// "iti (XI. I).</i>	3. <i>[yodhanāgarakādīnām dākṣiṇātyā. Nś. 17. 53]</i>

1. For Bharata and his various linguistic aspects my information is based on the following :

Cowell's introduction to Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, 1868, p. xi ; R. Pischel, *De Grammaticis Pracriticis*, 1874, pp. 1-2, 17-18 ; *Gram. Pkt. Spr.*, 1900 §31 ; S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, 1923, p. 22 ff ; M. Ghosh, *Problems of the Nāṭya-śāstra*, IHQ, VI, 1930, pp. 72-80 ; *Prākṛta verses in the Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra*, IHQ, VIII, No. 4 (supplementary), 1932 ; *Mahārāṣṭri, A Later Phase of Śaurasenī*, JDL, XXIII, 1933 ; *The Date of the Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra*, JDL, XXV, 1934 ; *The Ādibharata and the Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*, ABORI, XV, 1933-34, pp. 89-96 ; Luigia Nitti-Dolci, *Les Grammaires Prakrits*, Paris, 1938, chapter II, pp. 61-88 ; Sukumar Sen, *Three Lectures on Middle Indo-Aryan*, JOIB, XI, No. 3, March, 1962, pp. 210-13.

4. "dhūrtādibhāṣā bāhlikī-iti Bharataḥ (XI. 13). 4. [dhūrtānām apy avaṇṭijā Nś. 17. 52]
5. "rākṣasi-śreṣṭhi-ceṭā-nukarmyāderardhamāgadhi" iti Bharataḥ (XII. 38). 5. [ceṭānām rājaputrānām śreṣṭhinām cārdha-māgadhi. Nś. 17. 51]
6. maharṣir Bharataśca—"āgama-liṅga-vihīnaṁ viparītaṁ nyāyadeśa-kālādeḥ | mada-mūrkhataḥ" bhīmānādyaiśvar-yāt syāccha-kāravacanam || iti (XIII. 9).

§9. From the above it is clear that all these quotations are not found *ad verbatim* in Bharata—the oldest extant writer on Sanskrit dramaturgy—whose dates¹ vary from 200 B.C. to 700 A.D.. A. B. Keith² wants to place him conjecturally somewhat earlier than Bhāsa and Kālidāsa ; while P. V. Kane,³ after much discussion has made a statement that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* cannot be later than 300 A. D. He further

1. This problem has been discussed in the following : R. Pischel, *Gottingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1885, p. 763 ff (as per Winternitz's reference) ; P. Regnaud, introduction to Grosset's edition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (vide S. K. De's reference) 1897 ; A. A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1900, p. 434 ; Sylvain Lévi, *IA*, XXX 1904, p. 163 ; H. P. Sastri, *JASB*, V, New Series, 1909, pp. 351 ff ; VI, 1910, p. 307 ; E. J. Rapson, *Article on Drama* (India), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol-V, 1911, p. 888 ; P. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, XLI, 1912, pp. 158 ff ; P. V. Kane, *IA*, XLVI, 1917, pp. 178 ff. (also in his introduction to *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 3rd edition, 1951, pp. 39 ff. published separately entitled *History of Sanskrit Poetics*) ; Hermann Jacobi, introduction to his *Bhavisayattakahā*, 1918, p. 84 ; Sten Konow, *Das Indische Dramen*, 1920, p. 2 ; S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics* Vol-1, London, 1923, pp. 23 ff. ; P. D. Gune, introduction to *Bhavisayattakahā*, Baroda, 1923, p. 49 ff ; A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 291 ff ; M. R. Kavi, introduction to *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Baroda, 1926 ; M. Ghosh, *The Date of Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra*, *JDL*, XXV, 1934 ; also his introduction to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ascribed to Bharatamuni, Calcutta, 1951, pp. LXXXI ff.

2. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1920, p. 372.

3. Introduction to *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 3rd edition, 1951, pp. 45-46.

clarifies this point by saying that "this does not mean that the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* has come down to us intact from that date. But what is contended is that before 300 A. D. there existed a work going under the name of Bharata". But there are sufficient indications to suppose that the present *Nāṭyaśāstra* has been subjected to considerable rehandlings in later times and about 700 A. D. it had assumed more or less its present shape. This is made further clear when we read the commentary of Abhinavagupta which is not always on a par with the extant *Nāṭyaśāstra* (for which vide G.O.S. edn.). Moreover it is evident from the above quotations of Mārkaṇḍeya that the present *Nāṭyaśāstra* had, perhaps, two recensions called the shorter and the longer recensions. Taking all these facts into consideration it is presumed that the whole text might be a compilation or recasting by different hands at different times before it was apparently completed by 700 A. D. (or by the end of the 8th century at the latest), when the other writers on the subject had come in.

§10. Although we are not yet sure about the existence of Bharata to whom this *Nāṭyaśāstra* is attributed, the linguistic peculiarities of Prakrit which are the subject matter of our discussion, are interesting. In the 17th chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* dealing with Prakrit along with its various aspects, there is a short and very faulty presentation of Prakrit grammar. Besides, in the 32nd chapter there is a number of examples in Prakrit. These Prakrit verses are generally songs, called *dhruvās*, sung by a type of dramatic character during the performance of rūpaka and are served as a background music. Pischel says that nearly all these verses are 'thoughtlessly distorted'.

§11. Apart from the whole text of *Nāṭyaśāstra*¹ which is edited by K. P. Parab, Śarmā and Upādhyāya, and M. R. Kavi,

1. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni edited by Pandit Sivadatta and Kashinath Pandurang Parab, Bombay, 1894, (*Kāvyamālā* No. 42); The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata edited by Batuknath Sharma and Baladeva Upadhyaya (Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 60), Benares, 1929; *Nāṭyaśāstra*

some scholars have also given some special stress on the Prakrit portions of *Nāṭyaśāstra*. M. Ghosh¹ as early as 1934, made an attempt to reconstruct the Prakrit grammar (verses—1-24) of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* together with an English translation. But all the passages were not then satisfactorily edited. Then in the year 1938, Luigia Nitti-Dolci gave in her *Les Grammairiens Prakrits*² the text on Prakrit language in Roman script together with a French translation. But no linguistic analysis is made. She has also consulted one Nepalese manuscript in order to improve the readings of the text. After long interval, P. L. Vaidya has presented us the text, entitled "*Bharatamuni-nibadham Prākṛta-bhāṣāṇām svarūpam*" (only verses 7-25 ; 59-63) with slight emendations in Appendix VII of his edition of the Prakrit grammar of Trivikrama, Sholapur, 1954. His text is based on M. R. Kavi's edition. Lastly, Sukumar Sen³ has analysed for the first time the Prakrit chapter of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. After consulting carefully all these previous works on the subject, I have edited again (vide Appendix B) the Prakrit text of Bharata without the commentary of Abhinavagupta as found in GOS edition. In doing so some convenient emendations have been suggested in order to improve the obscure readings of the text. On the basis of these reconstructed verses of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the following survey of Prakrit language has been made.

§12. *Introductory* : After describing, in brief, the nature of Sanskrit articulation in chapter XIV the author

of Bharata with the commentary of Abhinavagupta of Kashmir, edited by M. R. Kavi, Baroda (GOS), Vol-I (chapters I-VII), 1926 ; Vol-II (chapters VIII-XVIII), 1934 ; Vol-III (chapters XIX-XXVII), 1954 ; M. Ghosh, *The Nāṭyaśāstra* (Eng. Tr.), Vol-I (chapters 1-27), Calcutta, 1951 ; Vol-II (Text only from Chapters 28-36), Calcutta, 1956.

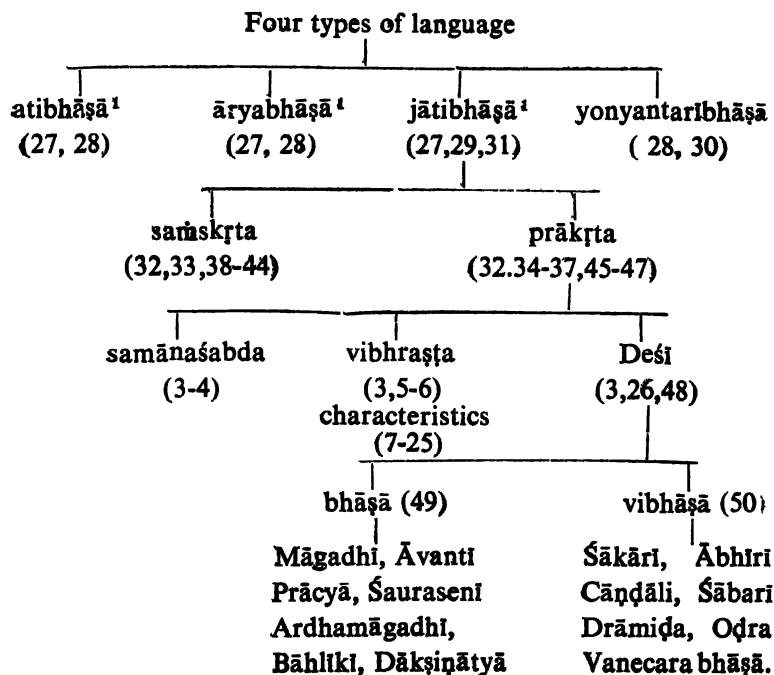
1. *The Date of Bharata-Nāṭyaśāstra*, JDL, XXV, 1934.

2. pp. 64-76.

3. *Three Lectures on Middle Indo-Aryan*, JOIB, Vol-XI, No. 3, March, 1962, pp. 210 ff.

(rather compiler) begins his discussions on Prakrit with the statement that Prakrit differs from Sanskrit mainly in the matter of articulation.

§13. *Classifications of Languages*. Then the *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes the threefold forms of Prakrit and its various dialects and sub-dialects as employed in dramatic performance (*nāṭyayoga*) together with the fundamental classifications of languages. The relation of all these languages can be shown in the following manner :



1. In Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* we have some interesting classifications of Sanskrit and Prakrit. Bhoja says that *vākya* is of three kinds—*Samāskṛta*, *Prākṛta* and *Apabhraṃśa*. *Samāskṛta* is of three kinds : *Śrauta*, with two sub-divisions *Mantra* and *Brāhmaṇa* ; *Āraṇya*, with *smṛti* and *Purāṇa* ; and *Laukika*, with two divisions *Kāvya* and *Śāstra*. *Prākṛta* again is of three kinds—*Sahaja* with two sub-divisions *Samāskṛtasama* and *Deśya* ; *Lakṣita*, with *Mahārāṣṭra* and *Śaurasena* ; and finally, *Śliṣṭa* with two divisions *Paiśāca* and *Māgadha*. *Apabhraṃśa* is of three kinds—*Uttama*, *Madhyama*

§14. *The Descriptions.* The author (or compiler) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* by way of his discussion about various forms of Prakrit propounds the fundamental fourfold classifications of languages, such as, *Atibhāṣā* (super-human language), *Āryabhāṣā* (noble language), *Jātibhāṣā* (ordinary language), and *Yonyantari-bhāṣā* (animal language) : of which, the first is the superior speech of the gods (*devānām bhāṣā*), while the second is the speech of kings (*bubhūjām bhāṣā*). Sukumar Sen¹ thinks that the atibhāṣā in drama means 'the language of the Vedic mantras, and the āryabhāṣā is probably the language of Vedic prose' (cf. "*vaidika-śabda-bāhulyād āryabhāṣāto vilakṣaṇatvam*" —Abhinava's commentary). The third is the ordinary speech of the common run having two divisions : *mlechhabhāṣā* (the speech of barbarians) and *bhāratam varṣam āśritabhāṣā* (languages of India). The fourth is the language of the domestic and wild animals—which, in a drama, follows the conventional practice (*nāṭyadharmī*). The *Nāṭyaśāstra* does not furnish us with any specimen of this type of language which is to be used in the stage ; we do not find even any specimen of this conventional speech of lower animals in any extant drama. Thus, according to *Nāṭyaśāstra*, this classification practically covers the speeches used by persons in dramatic performance.

§15. From the above table it is seen that *Jātibhāṣā* has two forms—Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta—which cover in general the speeches of the four classes of men in India (*cāturvarṇa-samāśrayam*). Of the two, the *Prākṛtabhāṣā*, has threefold forms of locution : *Samānaśabda*, *Vibhraṣṭa* and *Deśīśabda* (cf. Daṇḍi's classification of Prakrit into *Tatsama*, *Tadbhava* including *Apabhraṁśa*, and *Deśī*). The first is called *samānaśabda*,

and *Kaniṣṭha*. *Uttama* is *Āvantya*, *Ratiya* etc. ; *Madhyama* is *Ābhira*, *Gaurjara* etc. ; and *Kaniṣṭha* is *Kāśmīra*, *Paurastya* etc. This kind of classification is not found in any extant Prakrit grammar. It seems to be his own, vide *Śṅgāra-prakāśa* of Bhoja, ed. by G. R. Josyer, Mysore, 1955, pp. 101-03.

1. *Three Lectures* etc. p. 211.

because words are the same as in Sanskrit (this may be compared with the thirteenth canto of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* which is called *bhāṣāsama*). The *Nāṭyaśāstra* gives examples of this type of words used in Prakrit composition, e.g., *kamala*, *amala*, *reṇu*, *taraṅga*, *lola* and *salila* etc. The second is called *vibhraṣṭa* or the Prakrit language in general (modern MIA), because it is corrupt and devoid of the virtue of embellishment (*Samśkr̥ta*) and its system of articulation is different from that of Sanskrit. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* then describes, in a nutshell, the characteristics or rather phonological peculiarities (excluding declension and conjugation) of this *vibhraṣṭa* type of Prakrit in some verses (7-25). On the basis of reconstructed verses of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (as given in Appendix B), the characteristics of Prakrit can be given in the following manner. [Numerals within the brackets indicate the verse number of the text given in Appendix B].

Phonology

§16. (i) *Vowels*: The vowels, viz. *r*, *l*, both long and short, *ai*, *au* and *visarga* disappear in Prakrit—their places being substituted by some other vowels.

(ii) Substitute for *r*.

r > *a*, e.g. *mṛtaḥ*, *mṛgaḥ* > *mao* (16).

r > *i*, e.g. *dr̥ṣṭa* > *diṭṭha* (22) v. l. *daṣṭa* > *daṭṭha*.

(iii) The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are replaced by *e* and *o* respectively (7, 17), e.g. *auśadha* > *osaha*.

(iv) *Consonants*. The consonants like *ñ*, *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *ṣ*, and *ṣ* are not found in Prakrit.

(v) *Treatment of consonants* :

(A) Simple

a) *Initial*

(vi) *p* > *ph* (sometimes 16), e.g. *paruṣa* > *pharuṣa* (16);

(vii) *ṣ* > *ch* (11), e.g. *ṣaṭpada* > *chappā* (11).

b) Intervocal

(viii) Intervocal *k, g, t, d, p* and *v* (10) are generally dropped, leaving their accompanying vowels. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is not clear whether any weakly articulated *ya* (*laghu-prayatnatara-yakāra*) will be audible in all these cases, but simply states that *c* in words like *pracala, acira, acala* (17) etc. will be changed into “*y*”. It will not be unwise to think that this “*ya-śruti*” was not shown in writing during the early days of phonetic changes (cf. *Nāṭyaśāstra*’s examples, *mṛta* and *mṛga* becoming *maa* (§16. ii above).

(ix) The aspirates *kh, gh, th, dh, bh* are generally reduced to *h* (10); e.g. *mukha* > *muha*; *megha* > *meha*; *kathā* > *kahā*; *vadhū* > *vahū*; and *prabhūta* > *pahūa* (10).

(x) *t* > *d* (12); e.g. *bhaṭa* > *bhaḍa*; *kaṭaka* > *kaḍaa*, *kuṭi* > *kuḍi*; and *taṭa* > *taḍa* (12).

(xi) *ṭha* > *ḍha* (14); e.g. *śaṭha* > *saḍha*; *pāṭha* > *pāḍha*; *pīṭha* > *pīḍha* (14).

(xii) *ḍ* > *l* (13); e.g. *vaḍavā* > *valavā*; *taḍāga* > *talāa* (13).

(xiii) *t* > *aspaṣṭa* (indistinct) *d* in words like *itara* (13) etc.

This phenomenon is not clear. Is it pronounced with a light vocalic sound (*laghuprayatna*) or with a spirantised (?) *d*? Abhinavagupta thinks that it is something like *la* (*aspaṣṭo laghu-prayatna ścoccārya yena kramād dakāraśca lakāracchāyo bhavati*; *yathā udaram ularam iti*).

(xiv) *th* > *dh* (sometimes, 15); e.g.; *yathā* > *jadhā*; *tathā* > *tadhā* (15). (cf. Śauraseni, Māgadhi *tha* > *dh*).

(xv) *p* > *v* (?) (15), e.g.; *āpāna* > *āvāṇa* (15). It is really difficult to say whether he meant *b* or *v*, although all manuscripts tell us “*v*”. The Easterners also are not even clear on this point.

(xvi) *l* in *kila* becomes *r* (11); e.g.; *kila* > *kira*.

(xvii) Dental *na*, be it initial or medial, is always changed into cerebral *ṇa* (14).

(xviii) Similarly, *ś* and *ṣ*, be they intitial or medial are always changed into *s* (12); e.g.; *śaṅka* > *saṅka*; *viṣa* > *visa*.

(xix) The word *khaḷu* becomes *khu* in Prakrit (11).

(B) Conjuncts

- (xx) *kṣ* > *kkh* (19); e.g.; *yakṣa* > *jakkha* (23).
- (xxi) *śc* > *chh* (19); e.g.; *āścarya* > *acchariaṃ* (20),
niścaya > *nicchaa* (20).
ts > *cch* (19); e.g.; *vatsa* > *vaccha* (20), *utsāha* > *uccha-*
ha (21).
ps > *cch* (19); e.g.; *apsaras* > *accharaṃ* (23).
thy > *cch* (19); e.g.; *pathya* > *paccha* (21).
- (xxii) *dhy* > *jjh* (19); e.g.; *vindhya* > *vimjha* (21).
bhy > *jjh* (19); e.g.; *tubhyam* > *tujjham* (21).
hy > *jjh* (19); e.g.; *mahyam* > *majjham* (21).
- (xxiii) *ṣṭ* > *tṭh* (19); e.g.; *drṣṭa* > *diṭṭha* (22)
v.l. *daṣṭa* > *daṭṭha*.
- (xxiv) *jñ* > *ṇṇ*; e.g.; *yajña* > *jaṇṇa* (24).
- (xxv) *kṣṇ* > *ṇh* (19); e.g.; *ślakṣṇa* > *saṇha* (23).
ṣṇ > *ṇh* (19); e.g.; *uṣṇa* > *uṇha* (23).
- (xxvi) *st* > *tth* (19); e.g.; *hasta* > *hattha* (22).
- (xxvii) *sp* > *pph*; e.g.; *bṛhaspati* > *bahapphai* (23).
- (xxviii) *sm* > *mm* (rarely); e.g.; *bhīṣma* > *bhimma* (24).
v. l. > *bhimha*.
śm > *mh* (19); e.g.; *grīṣma* > *gimha* (22).
hm > *mh*; e.g.; *brahmā* > *bamhā* (23).
- (xxix) *ry* > *ll*; e.g.; *paryaṅka* > *pallaṅka* (23).
(*ry* sometimes becomes *riy*, e.g. *acchariya*).
- (xxx) *repha* as the first or second member of a conjunct is always assimilated, except in *bhadra*, *vodraha*, *hrada*, *draha*, *candra* and *dhātṛi* (9), otherwise, *arka* > *akka* and *śakra* > *śakka*.
- (xxxi) *Anaptyxis* (*svarabhakti*). The *Nāṭyaśāstra* then states that *k* and similar *varṇas* while on the top or below of a sound (*varṇa*) may be pronounced disjointed (24). Examples not given.
- (xxxii) Thus he closes his treatment of Prakrit grammar by saying :

*evam etan mayā proktaṃ kiṃcit prākṛta-lakṣaṇam/
śeṣaṃ deśiprasiddhaṃ ca jñeyam vipraḥ prayogataḥ* || 25 ||

§17. *Deśabhāṣā*. The author (or compiler) then discusses the third category of speech, e. g. *Deśabhāṣā*, which is of various kinds and whose linguistic peculiarities are to be learnt from usages. He further points out that as different playwrights belong to different regions of India, it is possible that there must be differences in *Deśabhāṣā* (local dialects). He also says that it entirely depends upon the option of the dramatists to use this dialect through the mouth of a character in a play.

§18. He then classifies "*Deśa*" speeches into two categories : *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā*. *Bhāṣā* or local languages are seven in number—Māgadhi, Prācyā, Śaurasenī, Ardha-māgadhi, Bāhliki and Dākṣiṇātyā. *Vibhāṣā* (*patios* or 'uncultivated speech') is also of seven kinds, such as, Śākāras, Ābhiras, Caṇḍālas, Śabara, Dramiḍas, Auḍhra (or Oḍra) and the inferior speeches of the forester.

§19. From the above it is seen that Bharata does not mention clearly the names of the most important Prakrits, e.g. Mahārāṣṭrī, Apabhraṃśa and Paisāci as dialects or sub-dialects of Prakrit. The mention of Dākṣiṇātyā as one of the major dialects (without indicating its importance) is interesting. It may probably signify Mahārāṣṭrī¹; although at the same time it is to be noted that the function of Mahārāṣṭrī has not been attributed to Dākṣiṇātyā, but to Śaurasenī. "The historical name, Apabhraṃśa, was discarded by the old MIA grammarian", says Sukumar Sen,² "for an implication of inferiority (off-standard

1. Sukumar Sen, *Ibid*, p. 211. But M. Ghosh thinks that since Mahārāṣṭrī is a later phase of Śaurasenī, the earlier writers do not mention this dialect; but, on the contrary, Śaurasenī is generally referred to by the term, "Prakrit", vide JDL (XXIII), *Mahārāṣṭrī, A Later Phase of Śaurasenī*. It is to be noted that his views on Mahārāṣṭrī as a later phase of Śaurasenī have been severely criticised by A. M. Ghatage in his paper, *Mahārāṣṭrī Language and Literature*, JBU, IV, parts 6, 1935-36, pp. 19-70; for the earlier characteristics of Śaurasenī his article on Śaurasenī Prakrit in JBU, III, Part 6, 1934-35, pp. 44-62, may be consulted.

2. *Ibid*, p. 213.

‘fallen away’). But when they came to take cognizance of a more advanced or decayed form of MIA appearing in songs and scenes taken from life...they did not hesitate to apply the name Apabhraṃśa”. P. D. Gune¹ also holds that Bharata does not expressly mention Apabhraṃśa by name, because it was yet in a crude form still to develop; although his acquaintance with Apabhraṃśa in some forms is attested by the examples of the *dhruvā-songs* in the 32nd chapter. Pāṣāṇa as a language was not recognised at that time, because it was used by the followers of a heterodox religion. Bharata has not given us the characteristics of these languages.

§20. *The assignment of these dialects in a drama.* Then the author (or compiler) gives in detail the assignment of these speeches of different types to dramatis personae in the following manner :

Māgadhi : It is assigned to guards (lit. ‘inmates’) cf. the royal harem (51). It is also spoken by heroes in self-defence and others like them while in jeopardy for their self-protection (57).

Āvanti (Avantija) : It is spoken by rogues or cheats (*dhūrta*) (52).

Prācyā : Prācyā is the language of the jesters and the like (52).

Śauraseni : The heroines (*nāyikā*), and their female friends (*sakhī*) are to speak Śauraseni when not in any difficulty (52).

Ardhamāgadhi : It is spoken by menials (*ceṭa*), princes (*rājaputra* probably “rauts” of later times) and leaders of merchants’ guilds (*śreṣṭhī*) (51).

Bāhliki : Bāhliki is the native speech of the khasas belonging to the North (53).

Dākṣiṇātyā : It is assigned to soldiers, gamesters, police chief of the city and the like (53).

Śākārī : Śākārī should be assigned to the Śākāras and the Śakas (ghoṣakas) and other groups of the same nature like forest-dwellers (54-55).

Cāṇḍālī : Cāṇḍālī is to be spoken by the Pulkasas and the like (54).

Śābarī : Śābarī is to be put in the mouth of charcoal-makers, hunters and those who earn their livelihood on wood-craft and contrivances. It may be used by the forest-dwellers as well (56).

Ābhīrī : For those who live in places where elephants, horses, goats, sheep, camels or cows are kept. Ābhīrī¹ or Śābarī has been prescribed for them (56).

Drāmīlī : It is the language of the forest-dwellers (56).

Oḍrī : Oḍrī is to be assigned to diggers of Subterranean passages, prison-warders, grooms for horses.

Vanecarāṇām bhāṣā (the languages of the foresters).

§21. *Linguistic Zone* : Lastly the author (or compiler) mentions five linguistic zones and their most characteristic phonemes.

(i) Between the Ganges and the ocean, the predominant characteristic phoneme is “e” (59).

[This ‘e’ is found in the nominative singular case-termination of the *a*-bases of Māgadhi and Amg.]

(ii) Between the Vindhya and the ocean (i.e. dakṣiṇa-saurāṣṭra, according to commentary) the characteristic phoneme is “na” (v.l. *ta* or *sa* 60).

1. For the place of this dialect, vide, Gune's introduction to *Bhavisayattakāhā*, pp. 59-60. Gune thinks that ‘the history of the Ābhīra migration into India, which caused such a change in the spoken languages of the country’ is interesting. They were originally nomadic fighters, and later on entered India and occupied part of Punjab a little before the beginning of the Christian era (i. e. 150 B.C.). ‘By the fourth century A.D. they had got a permanent footing in Mālva.....In the succeeding couple of centuries the Ābhīras must have migrated further southwards and eastwards, towards Saurāṣṭra and the adjoining provinces and Magadha respectively’.

[It is to be noted here that this relates a type of dialect in which there is a dental *na* (or *ta* or *sa*). From Hemacandra's Prakrit grammar we come to know that the initial *na* is optionally retained, while conjunct *na* is always in Mahārāṣṭri Prakrit.]

(iii) In Saurāṣṭri and Āvanti and countries north of the Vetravati, the characteristic phoneme is 'ca' (61).

[It seems probable that at the time of the author the intervocal "ca" in this particular zone was retained, while according to grammarians it is generally dropped.]

(iv) In the Himalayan regions and in Sindhu and Sauvira, the characteristic phoneme is "u" (62).

(v) In the countries beyond the Carmaṇvati-river and round the Arbuda mountain, the characteristic phoneme is "o" (63).

§22. *Conclusion.* After describing in brief the rules regarding the assignment of dialects, he closes the chapter by saying :

*evam bhāṣāvidhānam tu kartavyam nātakāśrayam/
atra noktam mayā yat tu lokād grāhyam budhais tu tat|| 64||*

§23. *Prakrit verses of the text.* The Prākṛta verses¹, called *dhruvās*, found in the 32nd chapter of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, offer us some difficulty. According to *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *dhruvā*-songs, should be written in Śaurasenī :

"bhāṣā tu śaurasenī syād dhruvāṇām samprajayet."

Dolci's reading p. 85 (vide N. S. XXXII. 440)

But scholars are not unanimous on this point. Jacobi², after giving a brief survey of the language of these verses, clearly says that the language of these verses has affinity with both Śaurasenī

1. These Prakrit verses have been edited by M. Ghosh in IHQ, VIII, No. 4, supplementary, 1932, pp. 1-52. He has also edited these verses in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* Vol-II, Ch. 32 (references are to this edition).

2. Vide, his introduction to *Bhavisayattakahā*, München, 1918, pp. *84-*86.

and Mahārāṣṭrī; and he, therefore, prefers to call it 'Pre-classical literary Prakrit.' But P. D. Gune¹ finds some features of Apabhraṃśa in them. Ghosh criticises Gune and states that in all the texts the characteristic feature of Apabhraṃśa, i.e. nom. sg. of the *a*-base ending in *u* is not maintained; moreover, the *u*-reading of the verses of Gune quoted by him is not metrically indispensable.

§24. It seems possible that Ghosh is, probably, goaded by the dictum of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* that the *dhruvās* should be in Śauraseni; and he, therefore, tries to find out traces of Śauraseni in all these verses and has edited them accordingly. Ghosh's argument is chiefly based on the point that the locative singular of the *a*-base of the Śauraseni may be in-*mmi*. Pischel and following him Woolner do not accept this locative singular in-*mmi* in Śauraseni. According to Ghosh, Pischel's rule is mainly based on the grammars of Rāmataṛkāvaḡiṣa and Mārkaṇḍeya—who were inhabitants of the eastern region in the 16th century A.D.. Ghosh has tried to weaken the arguments of Pischel, Sten Konow and others by saying that 'as none of the authorities was earlier than the 16th century—a time when Prakrits were no longer largely studied much less used as living languages,....their authority regarding a language which had its origin in the latter region (i.e. Midland) loses much of its reliability.' In order to justify his arguments he takes the help of Vararuci and Hemacandra, who, according to him, allow-*mmi* in Śauraseni by the aphorisms "*śeṣaṃ mahārāṣṭrīvat*" (Vr. XII. 32) and "*śeṣaṃ prākṛtavat*" (Hc. 4. 286) respectively.

§25. Truly speaking, the interpretation of these two sūtras by Ghosh is farfetched; and therefore, we cannot go hand-in-hand with him. Jacobi's name "Pre-classical literary Prakrit" deserves special attention. It is really written in a language in which the elements of Mahārāṣṭrī and Śauraseni are simultaneously found. Moreover, these verses are in a fluid condition, much mutilated, faulty and scrappy; and no

authentic text with the commentary of Abhinavagupta is yet available. We, therefore, refrain ourselves from commenting anything on the language ; but below is given some important salient characteristic features of these verses as found in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* edited by Śivadatta and K.P. Parab, published in the year 1894. I have also consulted M. Ghosh's edition of *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Vol-II), Calcutta, 1956 and the grammatical analysis of Jacobi as given in his introduction to *Bhavisayattakahā*, pp. *84-86. This will help us to understand the language in which these verses are written. [The numerals are from former's edition, while those of G prefixed to them are from Ghosh's edition. I have given references to both the texts, because all the Prakrit verses are not equally found in any one of them. Some are found in NSP's edition and some are in Ghosh's. Hence I have consulted both for my purpose].

Phonology.

§26. I. *Vowels* : The long vowels are sometimes shortened, sometimes not ; e.g. *kanto* (G 168) < *kāntaḥ* ; *juṇhā* (G 80a), *joṇhā* (G 168k) < *jyotsnā* ; *tuṇṇaṃ* (G 80a) < *tūrṇaṃ*.

II. Substitute for *ṛ*—

r > *i*, e.g.; *sarisa* (G 174) < *sadr̥sa*.

r > *u*, e.g.; *vunda* (G 100) < *vṛnda*.

III. *ai* > *e*, e.g. ; *uvei* < *upaiti*.

au > *o*, e.g. ; *komudī* (G 80a) < *kaumudī*.

IV. *Consonants* ; An intervocal consonant remains very often unchanged ; otherwise *k*, *g*, *c*, *j*, *t*, *d*, etc. are elided leaving behind the remnant *y* before *a* or *ā*.

(i) *k* is dropped—*loya* (G 65), *usuiya* (G 96), *valāyā* (G 119).

(ii) *g* is dropped—*gayāṇa* (G 174), *gaṇa* (G 185, 216), *uvveaṃ* (G 92).

(iii) *c* is elided—*sahayari* (G 117), *sahayara* (G 134), *viaradi* (236).

- (iv) *j* is elided—*paḍigaya* (G 88), *rayanī* (G 149, 153), *gayavara* (G 151).
- (v) *t* is sometimes retained, sometimes changed into *ḍ*—*bhūsitao* (236), *bhūsidao* (G 233-266), *gaganātaka* (G 168k, 242), *gaṇadala* (G 185, 216), *kusumavati* (192), *kusumavadi* (G 113), *juvati* (278), *juvadi* (G 185), *vādo* (G 100), *jāda* (G 113).
- (vi) *t* is also elided—*bhūmialam* (G 163), *vāi* (G 105), *bhūlam* (G 92).
- V. *t* is also changed into *ḍ*; *paḍa* (238), *paḍigaya* (G 88).
- VI. *d* remains—*udugana* (212, 266, 270).
- VII *t* is mostly changed into *ḍ*—(examples given before).
- VIII *n > ṇ* (examples profusely found).
- IX *p* is changed into *v*—*uvedi*, *uvei* (307), *pādava* (93), *pādavāṇam* (103), *lokapadiva* (270).
- X. *y* is sometimes retained—*yuvati* (278), *yuvadi* (180, 290), *yūtha* (188), *yadi* 264) *yādi* (207).
- XI. *y > j* (sometimes)—*juvāṇo* (197), *jādi* (167).
- XII. *r* generally remains unchanged—examples profusely found).
- (ii) *r > l* (sometimes)—*lāsi* (G 100) < *rāsih*.
- XIII. *v* generally remains unchanged—(examples profusely found).
- XIV. (i) *ś, ṣ > s*—examples are profusely found, such as—*sasi*, *sohā*, *sohida*, *sarada* < *śarat*; *sārada* < *śārada*; *nisā* < *niśā*; *nisi* < *niśā*; *saṇḍa* < *śaṇḍa*; *eso* < *eśaḥ*; *esā* < *eśā*; *bhūsida* < *bhūsita*.
- (ii) Sometimes *ś* is retained due to Sanskritisms—*śikhara* (230, 228), *śihara* (241); *śisira* (126), *viśuṣka* (167).
- XV. *Aspiration*: The aspirates *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, *bh* are generally reduced to *h*; sometimes they are retained.
- kh > h*; *muhe* (154), *muha* (220, 203), *śihara* (241), *suha* (268), besides, *parikhiṇṇo* (59), *mukhi* (180), *mukhara* (131), *sikhara* (230, 208), *sukhara* (270) etc.

gh>h ; *meha* (65), besides *megh* (210,222,235).

dh>h ; *māhīhara* (120), *jalāhara* (120), also *jaladhara* (148) ; *saliladharo* (69).

bh>h ; *sohala* (144,146,190), *sohida* (128,135), *ṇahatala* (242), also *nabhatala* (210), *naha* ,(77), *nahammi* 150), *ṇiho* (27), *saṁnibho* (242).

XVI. *Conjuncts* : Consonantal clusters are treated as in Mahārāṣṭrī. It is generally found that the original group sometimes occurs, as, *bhramarāvati* (131), *sahasra* (216) etc. It may seem possible that these are due to scribal errors.

XVII. In conjuncts some of the archaic forms are found ; as, *johṇāo* (75), *johṇā* (G 168k), *juhnā* (G 80a) < *jyotsnā* (may be due to scribal error) ; *rāi* (G 22o) < *rātri*.

XVIII. *Sandhi* : The Sandhi is quite normal (i.e. in the manner of Prakrit) ; e.g. ; *gaindo* < *gajendraḥ*.

Morphology : A. Noun Declension

XIX. Declension of *a*-bases, Masc. Neu. These are declined normally as is done in Prakrit. These also include consonantal bases which have become *a* either by adding to their final consonants, or by dropping the consonants.

Nominative Singular.

Plural.

Masc. (*o*) *vāo* (56).

(*ā*) *mehā* (65), *jaiadā* (86), *bhamarā* (86).

Neu. (*aṁ*) *naham* (73).

(*āim*, *āṇi*)

Instr. (*eṇa*) *gaṅga-dhareṇa* (168), *duddheṇa* (177)

(*ehim*) *balāhaehim* (73), *jaladharehim* (75).

Abl. *mehādo* (166)

Gen.

āṇam (*āṇa*) *pādavāṇam* (100), *kumudāṇam* (177).

Loca. (*e,ammi*) *aṁgaammi* (56), *nahe* (69), *sisirammi* (82), *pāusae* (86), *kāṇaṇe* (88), *kāṇaṇae* (96).

XX. *Declension of i-u bases. Masc. and Fem.* The declension of *i* and *u* bases both masculine and feminine is almost the same.

*Singular.**Plural.*Nom. (long vowel) *haṁsavahū* (96)*taravo* (98)Instr. (*ṇā*) *vāuṇā* (93).Voc. (*i, u*) *varataṇu* (266, 268),
sahi (209), *jalaṇihi* (267).

B. Pronominal Declension

XXI. *The Declension of etat.**Singular.**Plural.*Nom. Mas. *eso* (205), *esa*,
eha (169).*ee* (65), *ede* (92).Fem. *esa* (96, 99), *esā* (116,-
307), *esika* (283).Neu. *edam* (109), *īdam* (194).*edāni* (194).Acc. Mas. *eam* (192),

Gen. Mas.

edāṇam (95)Loc. Mas. *ettha* (307)Fam. *etthā* (96).

XXII. Of the other pronominal declensions the following may be mentioned :

(i) *tat* : Nom. sg. *sa* (264).(ii) First personal pron : gen. sg. *mama* (126).(iii) Second personal pron : gen. sg. *te* (170).

C. Conjugation

XXIII. Finite verbs. Present tense : (endings are-*i, ti, di*) ;

(i) *a*-stem : 3/1, *hiṇḍadi* (111), *bhamai* (69, 276),
bhamadi (165)(ii) *ā*-stem : 3/1, *vāi* (56), *vāti* (126), *vādī* (129), *jādi*
(167), *yādī* (288), *bhādī* (126), *jahādī* (288).

- , (iii) with *e* ; 3/1, *uvei* (307) *uvedi* (118).
 (iv) *ua* (185) is used in the sense of “*paśya*”.
 (cf. He. II. 211).
- XXIV. The Passive : *disadi* (G 80a).
- XXV. The Causative :
 (with-*aya*) : *janayadi* (268),
 with *ātmanepada-virājate* (153), *parihaṇḍate* (297),
gajjante (G 86), *gāyante* (G 86), *naccante* (G 86).
- XXVI. The present participle with *anta* and-*māṇa* :
 —*anta* : *sosanto* (56), *muñcanta* (65), *chādanta* (65),
simchādayante (276), *jananto* (124)
 —*māṇa* : *kampayamāṇo* (222), *vibodhayamāṇo* (264);
kārayamāṇo (266).
- XXVII. The past participle is formed as usual in Prakrit :
parikhiṇṇo (59).
- XXVIII. The Absolute ends in-*iya* :
 —*iya* : *suṃiya* (88), *vidhuniya* (216,228),
 —*uṇa* : *daṭṭhuṇa* (93), *nisamiuṇa* (144),
ramiṇa (292), *avalamiuṇa* (154).
- XXIX. The Infinitive : (With *uṃ* and *uṇa*) :
gantum (96) ; *daṭṭhuṇa* (90), *pekkhiuṇa* (107).
- XXX. The Particles : Among the particles the following
 may be mentioned :
vva (73,205), *iva* (211), *via* (98,211).

§27. From the above analysis of the 17th as well as the 32nd chapters of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, it may be said that Bharata might have followed some unknown text for the 17th chapter in which the classification and description of Prakrit have been given. The Eastern School of Prakrit grammarians have almost followed the same traditional treatment which we notice in later grammarians like Rāmaśarmā, Mārkaṇḍeya and others. It is to be noted further that the Prakrit verses in the 32nd chapter are not always in conformity with the characteristics of Prakrit described in the 17th chapter, as the injunction of the rule *kh, gh, th, dh, bh > h* (§16.IX) etc. has been optionally followed in them. Moreover, the insertions of

Sanskrit *ślokas* in the case of the *dhruvā*-songs have not been sanctioned by the dictum of *Nāṭyaśāstra*. All these features show that these verses might have been interpolated in later times by some persons who are not aware of the whole *Nāṭyaśāstra* at a time ; hence we face the anomaly of the whole problem. However, as all these features are interesting, we have discussed them here.

CHAPTER TWO

VARARUCI AND HIS COMMENTATORS

I. Vararuci

§28. After Bharata, next in the line is Vararuci¹ who is the oldest extant Prakrit grammarian of the eastern school, and who is also mentioned by Mārkaṇḍeya as one of his authorities. He is a mysterious figure in the terrain of early Indian literature, and his life history is terribly shrouded in obscurity. He is often identified with Kātyāyana, and sometimes he is also confused with Kātyāyana. As a matter of fact, in the introductory verses of *Prākṛtamāñjarī*¹, the author, every now and then, interchanges Kātyāyana and Vararuci, one for the other. However, from the history of Indian literature it seems probable that these two persons are different.

§29. "The date of Vararuci varies from 56 B.C. to the 7th century A.D. But that he cannot be later than the 7th century A.D. is proved by the fact that the grammarian Vararuci is mentioned by the Chinese Buddhist Hiuan-thsang who travelled in India in the first half of the seventh century A.D. Block assumes that Vararuci could not be anterior to the 5th century A.D., but this assumption is not tenable on linguistic grounds. P. D. Gune² wants to place him tentatively in the 3rd century A.D., while A. B.

1. For a detailed study of Vararuci and his commentators *vide* the introduction of my edition of the *Prākṛta Prakāśa* of Vararuci with the *Prākṛtapāda-ṭīkā*, a new commentary by Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda, published by Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, Calcutta. 1975. I have freely used the introduction and in some cases I have revised my opinions. The portions in the inverted commas are from the introduction.

2. *Bhavisayattakahā*, intro. p. 61.

Keith¹ almost fixes his date as the 3rd century A.D. as the earliest, as the forms of Prakrit treated there are later than those of Aśvaghoṣa. Without going into details of this problem, it is better to take 3rd to 5th centuries A.D. as the date of Vararuci."

§30. As far as our knowledge goes, Vararuci seems to be the first Prakrit grammarian who has reduced the popular dialect i.e. Prakrit to a system. He is a pioneer in this line and other grammarians have generally followed his system by adding many more information gathered either from literature or from their experiences. His *Prākṛta-Prakāśa*² as edited by Cowell, consists of twelve chapters called *paricchēdas*, the first nine chapters being devoted to Mahārāṣṭrī, while the tenth to Paisāci, the eleventh to Māgadhi and the twelfth to Śauraseni. Vararuci has not mentioned the name Mahārāṣṭrī, except the sūtra *śeṣaṁ Mahārāṣṭrīvat* (XII.32) in the chapter of Śauraseni which is regarded by Cowell as not genuine, since Bhāmaha has no commentary on it. The names of any other dialects and subdialects of Prakrit other than those already mentioned, are

1. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1924, p. 433.

2. The *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, or the Prakrit grammar of Vararuci with the commentary (*Manoramā*) of Bhāmaha, with introduction, notes and English translations etc. by E. B. Cowell, 1st ed. Hertford, 1854, 2nd issue, London, 1868, third ed. (reprint from the second), Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1962. A reprint of the text by Rama Shāstrī Tailanga, Benares, 1899 ; ed. Revatikanta Bhaṭṭāchārya, Calcutta, 1st ed. 1912 ; 2nd ed. 1919 ; ed. Basantakumar Chhaṭṭopadhyaya with Bhāmaha *vṛtti*, *Prākṛtamañjarī* and a Bengali translation, Calcutta, 1914 ; ed. Jaykrishna Dass Gupta, Benares, 1920 ; ed. Pañchānana Bhaṭṭāchārya, Calcutta, 1922 ; ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1931. For some linguistic discussions and other information, vide, C. Lassen, *Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae*, Bonn Ad Rhenum, 1837 ; E. B. Cowell, A Short Introduction to Ordinary Prakrits based on Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, London, 1875 ; Th. Bloch, *Vararuci und Hemacandra*, Gütessloh, 1893 ; R. Pischel, *De Grammaticis Pracriticis*, Vratislaviae, 1874 ; *Grammatik Der Prakrit Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, §§32-33 ; L. Nitti-Dolci, *Les Grammairiens Prakrits*, Paris, 1938.

not found in his work. It is a fact worth noting that the arrangement of Cowell regarding chapters ten to twelve does not seem so be logical. First, *Paśāci* is treated in the tenth, but its origin is given as *Śaurasenī* (*Prākṛtiḥ Śaurasenī* X.2). In a similar way, *Māgadhi* is described in the eleventh, but *Śaurasenī* is given as its origin (*Prākṛtiḥ Śaurasenī*, XI.2). So unless *Śaurasenī* is treated first, i.e., before *Paśāci* and *Māgadhi* these two sūtras have little value. Moreover, Cowell thinks that the manuscript W is evidently a modern recension, because it abounds with many new rules (given by him in the Appendix A) which are wanting in other manuscripts. It is curious to note that *Bhāmaha* has not commented on the twelfth and no other commentators belonging to the eastern school have any commentary on the last three chapters, nay, they have not taken any notice of their existence. This makes the edition of Cowell, though good and scientific for all practical purposes, uncertain with regard to the last three chapters.

II. Commentators

(i) *Kātyāyana*

§31. Of all the commentators of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, the name of *Kātyāyana* comes first. His date is uncertain, and because he is identified with Vararuci, he is often placed in the same century with him. Pischel thinks that *Kātyāyana* must be a south Indian, because the manuscript utilised by him is in the Malayalam character; but tradition places him in the eastern region. His commentary entitled *Prākṛtamañjarī*, is in verse, and it is evident from his commentary that he knew *Bhāmaha*. The examples of both the commentators mostly tally, although *Bhāmaha* has given many more examples than the *Prākṛtamañjarī*. *Kātyāyana* has commented upto the ninth chapter of Cowell's edition.

(ii) *Bhāmaha*

§32. Though an inhabitant of Kashmir, *Bhāmaha* is placed in the eastern school, because he has commented upon the

sūtras of Vararuci. He is, in fact, the first and the oldest commentator of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa* after *Prākṛtamañjarī* whose date is unknown. Although the date of Bhāmaha is also uncertain, the lower limit of his time can be determined to the extent that he was older than Udbhaṭa¹ who wrote a commentary called *Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa* on the work of Bhāmaha and lived under Jayāpiḍa, the king of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.). The upper limit is, however, fixed at the third quarter of the 7th century A.D., because Yi-tsing, who was in India between 673 and 695 A.D., knew the Buddhist Dharmakīrti whose philosophical doctrines were utilised by Bhāmaha. It is doubtful whether these two Bhāmahas—the commentator of Vararuci's Prakrit grammar and the author of *Kāvya-lāṅkāra*—are identical. Pischel thinks that they are identical. Citations from Bhāmaha are found in the *Kāmadhenu*, in the *Vṛttaratnākara* of Nārāyaṇa and also in the *Deśināmā-mālā* (VIII. 39) of Hemacandra, but these passages are not available in the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra* of Bhāmaha. As a result of this anomaly, the existence of several Bhāmahas could be conjectured in Indian literature.

§33. Bhāmaha has written his commentary entitled *Manoramā* in prose and it has not run beyond the eleventh chapter i.e. he has left out the Śaurasenī dialect. It is to be added that the style of Bhāmaha's vṛtti in the last two chapters of Cowell's edition is somewhat different from that of the rest. With regard to the interpretation of the sūtras of Vararuci, he is sometimes very brief and unclear. As, for example, the sūtra *nañor hali* (IV. 14) is not clear when the inclusion *makāraśca* is found in the vṛtti of Bhāmaha—(*nakīra-ñakārayor hali parato bindur bhavati makāraśca*). Bloch says that Bhāmaha misunderstands Vararuci, while Cowell thinks that "this addition of Bhāmaha's is wrong. The *Prākṛta-sañjivani* (though corrupt),

1. Udbhaṭa is normally placed towards the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A.D.

is silent about it. Hemacandra's corresponding sūtra is *ṇa—ñā—ṇa—no vyañjane* (I.24). In the example *ansa* and *kamsa* Bhāmaha appears to consider the nasal as a dental; in consequence of the dental sibilant which follows it." We can neither ignore Block nor Cowell regarding the interpretation of this sūtra. In fact, this sūtra is obscure in the text and the examples are not in accordance with the sūtra. However, this commentary of Bhāmaha is quite helpful in many other respects.

(iii) *Vasantarāja*

§34. The most exhaustive and elaborate commentary on the sūtras of Vararuci available uptil now, is the commentary *Prākṛtasañjīvanī*¹ of Vasantarāja who is also mentioned by Mārkaṇḍeya as one of his sources. This reference to Mārkaṇḍeya cannot but point to the fact that it was at one time looked upon as a very learned and authoritative work on Prakrit grammar. This commentary is of great help to the student of Prakrit Philology for the wealth of information it bears. He has commented upto the eighth chapter of Vararuci (i.e. *nipātas*) corresponding to the first nine chapters of Cowell's edition.

§35. The age of Vasantarāja cannot be determined with certainty. It is only from Pischel² that we may guess that he might have belonged to the last quarter of the fourteenth or the first half of the fifteenth century A.D..

(iv) *Sadānanda*

§36. Like Vasantarāja, Sadānanda, another commentator of Vararuci's grammar, has also commented upto the 8th chapter

1. The *Prākṛta-prakāśa* of Vararuci with the *Sañjīvanī* of Vasantarāja and the *Subodhinī* of Sadānanda, ed. by Batuk Nath Sharma and Baladeva Upadhyaya, Sarasvatī Bhavan Texts 19, Benares, 1927; cf. Pischel, *De gram. Pkt.* p. 17.

2. *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §40.

(=ninth of Cowell). His commentary, entitled *Subodhīnī*¹ has a striking similarity with that of Vasantarāja ; but it is shorter than the *Sanjīvanī*. Sadānanda's text is also divided into eight chapters, e.g.—

*ajvidhir ayuktavidhir atha saṁyuktavidhis tataśca saṅkīrṇaḥ/
sup-tiñ-dhātu-nipātaja-vidhayo' ṣṭāviha paricchedāḥ||*

But after this verse he makes this statement—"atha tatra *Mahārāṣṭrī bhāṣā* nuvarṇyate"—which gives us the hint that Sadānanda might be conscious of the fact that Vararuci's sūtras are related to the treatment of Mahārāṣṭrī only. Vasantarāja in his *Sāñjīvanī* quotes some couplets (in which the words belonging to *ākṛtiḡaṇa* will be found), and these verses, with some minor changes, are also found in the *Subodhīnī* of Sadānanda. But none of the authors mention either their mutual acquaintance, or the common sources from which these are taken. It is also to be noted that there are some differences in their readings of the sūtras. Besides his commentary on *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, we know nothing about his life, age and other personal history. But in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the India Office Library*, we find many Sadānandas, authors of different works. But all these Sadānandas belong to different times and places and hence cannot be identified with the author of the *Subodhīnī*.

(v) *Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda*

§37. Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda's *Prākṛtapādaṭikā* has recently been edited by me from a collation of two manuscripts² found at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. I did not know the existence of a third manuscript until recently I visited the Vrindaban Research Institute, Loi Bazar, Vrindaban, on an invitation by the President of the Institute, where a manuscript of *Prākṛtapādaṭikā* is preserved. As I have not thoroughly

1. This commentary has also been published in the above mentioned *Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts*, Benares 1927.

2. For a fuller description of the Mss, vide my introduction pp. 10 ff.

examined the manuscript, I refrain myself from commenting upon it. But I believe this manuscript will be able to offer some new and better readings to improve upon my text.

§38. One of the important features of this *īlākā* to be mentioned is his indebtedness to the *Saṅjīvanī* of Vasantarāja which is an elaborate exposition and elucidation of Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*; and this *Prākṛtapādāīlākā* is nothing but a synopsis or a summarised version from Vasantarāja's commentary. Another feature of his commentary is the citations from various authorities, such as, Patañjali (in the form of *Bhāṣya*), Kātyāyana, Vararuci, Śākatāyana, Kātantra, Jinendra and Vāmana. These passages are equally found with some minor changes in the *Saṅjīvanī* of Vasantarāja. Some of the *Kārikās* which are also available in the *Saṅjīvanī* as well as in *Subodhinī*, are cited without mentioning any authority. As regards his date I have said that Nārāyaṇa might have flourished between the last quarter of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century A.D..

(vi) *Rāmapāṇivāda*

§39. Though very late as belonging to the second and third quarters of the 18th century A.D., the commentary of Rāmapāṇivāda¹ about whom very little is known is interesting. Rāmapāṇivāda has not commented on the last three chapters, i.e. Paisāci, Māgadhī and Śauraseni. This shows that he knew the text of Vararuci only in eight chapters as was current in the eastern region. But under *śeṣaḥ saṁskṛtāt* (VII.25) he mentions the term Apabhraṁśa which is explained by Kunhan Rāja² as Paisāci. But there is no reason to believe that Apabhraṁśa is to be correlated with Paisāci, because to him, Paisāci is different from Apabhraṁśa. He has quoted two sūtras of Paisāci (*śa-ṣa-sānām śaḥ* and *ralayor laḥ*)

1. *Prākṛtaprakāśa* of Vararuci with the commentary of Rāmapāṇivāda edited by C. Kunhan Raja and K. Ramachandra Sarmā, Adyar Library No. 54, Adyar, Madras, 1946.

2. Edition of *Prākṛtaprakāśa*; intro. p. xiii.

which are not found in Vararuci as commented by Bhāmaha, nor can these be traced in any extant Prakrit grammars. But, on the contrary, it is seen that the sūtras quoted by him are almost identical with some of the sūtras of the same nature of Māgadhi dialect. What it seems probable is this that Rāmapāṇivāda, being the chieftain in the house of Pāliyath Accan in Trivandrum, has confused Māgadhi with Paisāci. Rāmapāṇivāda has classed the Prakrit words into three groups—*tatsama*, *tadbhava*, and *Deśi*, and he includes Paisāci under *tadbhava* (*vṛtti* on viii.23).

§40. The fact that there is a close resemblance between the commentaries of Bhāmaha and Rāmapāṇivāda shows that the latter knew the commentary of Bhāmaha. But there is a difference in the division of chapters between the two. Bhāmaha has commented on two more chapters which are excluded by Rāmapāṇivāda. Moreover, the commentary of Rāmapāṇivāda is more detailed than that of Bhāmaha, and on top of it, the former has cited from some well-known Prakrit works to illustrate the sūtras, although these citations are sometimes different from what are available in printed editions. But in spite of all these incongruities, the study of Rāmapāṇivāda's commentary is useful to a student of Prakrit Philology.

(vii) *Raghunātha*

§41. Lastly the commentary of Raghunātha, known as *Prākṛtānanda*, is interesting and important because of the fact that it is a later recast of Vararuci's Prakrit grammar. Raghunātha rearranges the sūtras of Vararuci on a line which resembles the system of *Laghukaumudī* with regard to Pāṇini. *Prākṛtānanda* is divided into two sections, each of which is divided into a number of sub-sections indicated by *iti*. Although Raghunātha is very late, almost modern, and must have utilised the commentary of Bhāmaha, the last three sections of Vararuci's grammar, (i.e. the Prakrit dialects of Paisāci, Māgadhi, and Śauraseni) are altogether omitted by him.

§42. Having analysed the contents and characters of all these commentaries on Vararuci's Prakrit grammar, I can do no better than reiterate what I have already said in my edition of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa* about the earliest and the original genuine portions of the *Prākṛta-prakāśa*. It seems quite possible to think that Vararuci perhaps recognised only one standard form of "literary Prakrit" (the name of which has not been mentioned by him) and ignored other dialects or tribal peculiarities of various Prakrits. "This standard literary Prakrit (otherwise called by later rhetoricians as Mahārāṣṭri *par excellence*—*kar'* ε'ξοχῆς) was the *lingua franca* of the day which was quite intelligible to people belonging to different parts of India. Vararuci wrote his Prakrit grammar only for this standard literary Prakrit." And the commentators of Vararuci, such as, Kātyāyana, Vasantarāja, Sadānanda, Nārāyaṇa, Rāmapāṇivāda, and even Raghunātha knew only this genuine portion in eight chapters which was the earliest and original. I have shown before (§§30-41) that the chapters dealing with Paisāci, Māgadhi, and Śaurasenī were added later to his grammar for the completeness of Prakrit languages. This addition was done either by Bhāmaha or by an unknown author who realised the importance of other dialects in the field of Prakrit. But as the characteristic features of these dialects available in Cowell's edition are not as elaborate as are found in Hemacandra, it may be possible that they were added before the advent of Hemacandra. Moreover, some of the sūtras of Vararuci though dealing with Mahārāṣṭri seem to refer to Śaurasenī (cf. *ṛtvādiṣu to daḥ*, II.7) which demonstrates that to Vararuci the distinction between dialects was not well-defined. All these facts have led me to conclude that the original portions of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa* only dealt with the Mahārāṣṭri and the eastern Prakrit grammarians knew only this genuine and original portion of the *Prākṛta-prakāśa* which was prevalent only in the eastern region of India.

CHAPTER THREE

KRAMADIŚVARA

§43. Kramadiśvara,¹ who is often credited with a grandiose appellation *Vādīndracakracūḍāmaṇi*, i.e., 'crest jewel of the circle of great controversialists or disputants', is a true easterner as he hails from *Pūrvagrāma*, an old name of a particular village or locality which is described to have situated in the (Dakṣiṇa) Rāḍha division of Gauḍa which can be taken as the present Burdwan division excluding some parts of Birbhum, Purulia, and Bankura. He leaves but a scanty record with regard to himself and his date. He is normally placed, though not with certainty, either between Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.) and Vopadeva (1250 A.D.), or after Vopadeva. In the introduction of my edition of Kramadiśvara's Prakrit grammar, I have shown that Kramadiśvara's date may be tentatively fixed between the tenth and eleventh centuries, and that he is before Puruṣottama.

§44. The Prakrit grammar of Kramadiśvara is appended to his Sanskrit grammar, known as, *Samkṣiptasāra*. Though short, his grammar is significant, because he has, for the first time, discussed a number of dialects and sub-dialects of Prakrit including Apabhraṃśa, some of which truly represent the eastern variety of languages. It seems possible that his grammar might have acted as a mirror to the later writers belonging to the eastern school, particularly with regard to dialectal varieties which have been fully developed and

1. I have discussed in detail about Kramadiśvara and his Prakrit grammar in the introduction of my edition of *The Prakrit Grammar of Kramadiśvara* to be published shortly. In that edition I have consulted seven manuscripts including one with the commentary of Caṇḍīdevaśarmā. As my discussions over there are pretty exhaustive, I have not repeated them here. The readers are requested to read this portion along with my edition of Kramadiśvara's Prakrit grammar.

discussed in the works of Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya. Although doubts have been raised on the authenticity of the Prakrit portion of his *Samkṣiptasāra* which includes both Sanskrit and Prakrit, it is accepted as emanated from the pen of Kramadiśvara on the authority of Goyicandra who has said that after finishing the Sanskrit portion, the grammar for Prakrit languages has been written (*saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-lakṣaṇāni samāpyāṣṭamena pādena prākṛtādi-bhāṣā-lakṣaṇāni viracitavān*¹). In composing his grammar, Kramadiśvara has followed a new technique; he has treated the language as a whole which includes not only Sanskrit but also Prakrit. The same principle is also followed by Hemacandra. It goes without saying that at the time of Kramadiśvara, Prakrit occupied a very prominent place, and Sanskrit presupposed the knowledge of Prakrit.

§45. There is practically no commentary on the Prakrit portion of Kramadiśvara's *Samkṣiptasāra*. It is said that Jumarānandī has written a *Vṛtti* and Goyicandra an elaborate commentary on both Sanskrit and Prakrit portions of his grammar, but unfortunately Goyicandra's commentary is not available now, and we are not yet sure whether the *Vṛtti* attached to the Prakrit chapter is from the pen of Jumarānandī. The only commentary available so far on the *Prākṛta-pāda* is Candīdevaśarmā's *Prākṛta-dīpikā*. In the introductory verses Candīdevaśarmā describes himself as follows :

*Śobhākara-kulodbhūta-Śrīcaṇḍīdeva-śarmaṇā/
kriyate 'ṣṭamapādasya ṭikā prākṛta-dīpikā//*

However, this commentary is so succinct that it is difficult to differentiate it from the *Vṛtti* of Jumarānandī.²

1. Goyicandra under *maṅgalācaraṇa* verse.

2. For this problem vide my article, *Caṇḍīdeva's Prākṛta-dīpikā, a commentary on Kramadiśvara's Prakrit grammar—identical with the vṛtti of Jumarānandī*, Bulletin of the Philological Society of Calcutta, Vol. V, 1964, pp. 33-40; also published in the Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists, Vol. III, Part I, BORI Poona, 1969, pp. 178-81.

§46. From a study of Kramadīśvara's Prakrit grammar, it can be said that he knew Vararuci well, and in some cases he, in fact, reproduced the sūtras of Vararuci particularly in describing Mahārāṣṭrī. Although Kramadīśvara might have followed an edition which is nearer to Bhāmaha's, in some cases he adopted the readings of Vasantarāja, Sadānanda and others also. This does not in any way mean that no innovations are at all discernible in Kramadīśvara, he has added many new ideas on Prakrit and ignored quite a lot of Vararuci. The *ya-śruti* is known to him, while Vararuci is silent about it. He has mentioned a number of dialects and sub-dialects of Prakrit not found in the *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, and his chapter on Apabhraṃśa is not only an innovation, but also helpful to the student of Prakrit Philology for the knowledge of modern Indian languages with particular reference to those which are situated in the eastern zone.

§47. Kramadīśvara's Prakrit grammar is divided into five sections ; e.g., (i) *svarakāryam* ('treatment of vowels'), (ii) *hal-kāryam* ('treatment of consonants'), (iii) *subanta-kāryam* ('treatment of declensions'), (iv) *tiñanta-kāryam* ('treatment of verbs'), and (v) *Apabhraṃśārambhah* ('the beginning of Apabhraṃśa'). He has also described the characteristics of Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, Paisāci, and some minor dialects, such as, Vṛācaḍa, Nāgara-Upanāgara, Ardhamāgadhi, and Śābarī. In his grammar he has accumulated quite a number of Deśi vocables some of which are preserved in the Modern Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. *thāma sthāne*, *pahilaḥ prathame*, *cikilla picchille*, *kaḍamaḍa udvege* etc.). Actually Kramadīśvara has not mentioned Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī apart from the fact that the name Mahārāṣṭrī occurs in the sūtra *Mahārāṣṭrī-miśrārdhamāgadhi* (v. 95), and in the vṛtti of *sabare soṛetvam* (v. 96) Śaurasenī is mentioned along with other sub-dialects—Śaka, Ābhira, Draviḍa, Oḍra, Āvantiyā, Āvanti, Śrāvanti, Prācyā, Bahlīkī, and Dākṣiṇātyā. So far as Vṛācaḍa is concerned it is described as a variety of

Apabhraṁśa (*Vrācaḍādir Apabhraṁśabhedah*), and in his opinion this Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa is used in the gāthās. He considers that Nāgara is different from Vrācaḍa and Upanāgara is a variety of Nāgara. While giving examples of these Prakrit dialects, the commentator has quoted some lines from some works and these lines are not traceable.

§48. In conclusion it can be said that Kramadīśvara has not discussed in detail the principles of Prakrit like later writers, but he has nicely recorded the main characteristic features of Prakrit language current in his time. It is true that sometimes he is too brief to be understood as the sūtra *ṛt* (I.27) indicates, but this is because of the fact that he has always tried to minimise the number of the sūtras by incorporating the *ākṛtigaṇas* to the sūtras. In fact in the treatment of Mahārāṣṭrī, he has not added anything remarkable, except some new forms which are not found elsewhere. Besides controlling and elucidating the sūtras of Vararuci, the value of Kramadīśvara lies in the fact that he has incorporated numerous dialects of Prakrit which are totally absent in Vararuci. Linguistically Kramadīśvara is important, because he represents truly the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians.

CHAPTER FOUR

PURUṢOTTAMA

§49. Puruṣottama of Bengal—the best representative Prakrit grammarian of the eastern school and who could be studied together with Rāmatarkavāgiśa and Mārkaṇḍeya forming a triad—is a little known author whose life and personal history are terribly shrouded in darkness. His Prakrit grammar has remained unfamiliar to us for so long that we could not know anything about it, but for Nitti-Dolci we have been able to study it.

§50. Puruṣottama's Prakrit grammar, entitled *Prākṛtānuśāsana*,¹ contains a curious farrago of dialects, which renders that work a mine of interesting forms of Prakrit. The Prakrit dialects described by him are the Mahārāṣṭri (upto VIII chapters), Śauraseni (Ch. IX), Prācyā (Ch. X), Āvanti (Ch. XI), Māgadhi (Ch. XII), Śākārī (Ch. XIII), Cāṇḍālī (Ch. XIV), Śābarī (Ch. XV). Ṭakkī (Ch. XVI), Nāgarāpabhraṃśa (Ch. XVII), Vṛacaḍāpabhraṃśa (Ch. XVIII), Kaikeyapaisāci (Ch. XIX) and Śaurasenapaisāci including Pāñcālī (Ch. XX). He has also discussed a number of other minor dialects belonging to Apabhraṃśa, such as, (i) Upanāgara, (ii) Pāñcāla, (iii) Vaidarbhi, (iv) Lāṭī, (v) Oḍrī, (vi) Kaikeya, (vii) Gauḍī, (viii) Ṭakka, (ix) Varvara, (x) Kuntala, (xi) Pāṇḍya and (xii) Siṅ(g)hala. Although we cannot categorically say whether Puroṣottama has classified Prakrit into Bhāṣā, Vibhāṣā, Apabhraṃśa and Paisāci—because the introductory portions of

1. *Le Prākṛtānuśāsana de Puruṣottama*, édité, traduit et annoté par Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Carries de la Société Asiatique VI, pp. xxvii+141, Paris, 1938 ; reprinted only a part of the text (Chapters IX-XX) in Devanāgarī with English translation by D. C. Sircar in his *Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, Calcutta, 1943, pp. 106-20 ; also reproduced in Devanāgarī script by M. Ghosh in the Appendix I, pp. 156-69 to his edition of Rāmaśarman's *Prākṛta-kalpataru*, Calcutta, 1954.

his maṇuṣcript are not found, as the manuscript from which Nitti-Dolci has edited the *Prākṛtānuśāsana*, begins from the middle of the third chapter (i.e. from the conjunct-consonants of Mahārāṣṭrī),—it can be presumed from what we find at present that he had that classification in his mind, as “*iti.....Māgadhi-bhāsā samāptā*” indicates. His contribution to the history of Prakrit grammar is remarkable and his work is very important for the study of the minor Prakrit dialects—for, it is the earliest detailed treatment of the subject after Kramadīśvara.

§51. As regards his date no definite information is available, besides what is found in the manuscript edited by L. Nitti-Dolci. That manuscript is dated in the year 385 of the Nepal era corresponding to our 1265 of the Christian era. *Prākṛtānuśāsana* must have been in existence already in the year 1159 A. D., for it is quoted by Vandyaghaṭṭiya Sarvānanda in his *Trikāṇḍasarvasva*, a commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*, which was composed in Śaka 1082=A. D. 1159. She has proved again that this Puruṣottama is identical with the famous Bengali Buddhist grammarian who wrote the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* and the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*. Puruṣottama, therefore, probably lived in Bengal in the 12th century A. D., and was a contemporary of Sarvānanda [and also of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.) of Gujarat].

§52. The identity of Puruṣottama, the author of the *Prākṛtānuśāsana*, with that of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* seems to us doubtful, because Puruṣottama, the author of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, was a contemporary of king Lakṣaṇasena who ascended the throne in the year 1170 A.D.. Moreover, Sarvānanda has not quoted from the *Prākṛtānuśāsana*, but from the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottama. Sarvānanda has not even shown any acquaintance with the *Prākṛtānuśāsana*. Similarly, *Trikāṇḍa* can not be from the pen of Puruṣottama, because Puruṣottama himself quotes in his *Bhāṣāvṛtti*¹ (under 4.4.143) from *Trikāṇḍa* composed by Bhāguri :

1. S. C. Chakraborti's edition of *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, Rājshāhī, 1918, p. 289

amī śabdāśchāndasā api kvacid bhāṣāyām prayujyanta iti Trikāṇḍe Bhāguri-nibandhanād vā vyutpanna-samjñāśabda-tvād vā sarvathā bhāṣāyām sādhaveḥ.

So also Śrīṣṭidhara, one commentator on Puruṣottama, says in his *Arthavivṛtti*—“*Trikāṇḍe koṣaviśeṣe Bhāgurur evācāryasya yad eṣām nibandhanam tasmāc ca*”. So Trikāṇḍa is the name of a lexicography by Bhāguri and Puruṣottama has written a commentary on it. So Kramadīśvara's citations from Trikāṇḍa are quite plausible.

§53. In the history of Indian literature we have numerous Puruṣottamas¹—some are poet, some logicians, and some are lexicographers and grammarians. Of the grammatical treatises, the *Bhīṣāvyṛtti*, a partial commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, as well as the *Paribhāṣāvyṛtti*, *Gaṇavyṛtti*, *Daśavalkārīkā* etc. are said to be the works of one Puruṣottama. So also the lexicographical works, such as, *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, *Hārāvalī*, *Dvīrūpakoṣa* etc. are said to have been composed by one Puruṣottama. One *Chondomokhāntī*² is also attributed to one Puruṣottama. We cannot definitely assert that all these works emanate from the pen of one and the same author. It is sometimes presumed³ that the *Prākṛtānuśāsana* is a work of the grammarian Puruṣottama, but we have no sufficient and direct evidence on the point. Unfortunately for ourselves, several Puruṣottamas flourished in Eastern India nearly at the same time (and even after that down to the eighteenth century) and their identity has become a difficult problem to solve. In the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman⁴ (dated about the 12th century A. D.), we

1. Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.* I. p. 341-43. cf. also IOC, Index P. 1714.

2. D. C. Acharya, *Memoir of the Varendra Research Society*, Rajshahi, No. 5. cf. also IC. Vol-VI, 1940, pp. 471-73. .

3. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, *Introduction to his edition of Paribhāṣāvyṛtti, Jñāpaka-samuccaya and Kārakacakram*, Rajshahi, 1946, p. 23.

4. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol-III, edited by N. G. Majumdar, Rajshahi, 1929, pp. 16, 19, 23.

find the name of Puruṣottama as the composer of a *praśasti*, but there is no means for his identification. Similarly, in the Chittagong copper-plate of Dāmodara¹ dated 1243 A. D., there is one adulatory stanza in honour of Dāmodara in whose family flourished Puruṣottama, father of the king Madhusūdana, father of Vāsudeva and whose son was Dāmodara. We are quite at a loss to come to a definite conclusion regarding the identification of all these Puruṣottamas, but it seems to us quite possible that the Prakrit grammarian Puruṣottama is altogether a different person and might have flourished just after Kramadīśvara. We want to place Puruṣottama after Kramadīśvara, because the latter mentions only the names of some dialects and sub-dialects of Prakrit, while Puruṣottama discusses them in detail. As Kramadīśvara's date cannot be placed later than the 12th century A. D., Puruṣottama may be placed between the 12th and the 14th centuries A. D. which can be treated as the upper and the lower limits of his time.

5. *Ibid.* pp. 159-62.

CHAPTER FIVE

RĀMAŚARMAN (TARKAVĀGĪŚA)

§54. Very much similar to the grammar of Puruṣottama is the *Prākṛtakalpataru* of Rāmaśarman (Tarkavāgīśa), popularly known as Rāmaśarmā or Rāmatarlavāgīśa. He is distinguished from Rāmacandra Tarkavāgīśa (1700 A.D.), a commentator of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. Besides his Prakrit grammar, he wrote not only a commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*,¹ but also a *ṭippanī* on the same. His other commentaries are on the *Uṇādikoṣa*,² *Kāvyaśandīpa*,³ and *Mugdhabodha*.⁴ According to some he is referred to in one commentary⁵ on the *Mugdhabodha* by Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṅkāra, son of Raghunātha and also to Kārttikeya's commentary,⁶ called *Subodha* on the same. This shows clearly that Rāmatarlavāgīśa had already become famous by that time perhaps before he wrote his Prakrit grammar.

§55. Rāmaśarman is supposed by Grierson⁷ to have "probably flourished not later than the end of the sixteenth century", because he is cited by Durgādāsa Vidyāvāgīśa in his commentary on the *Mugdhabodha* written in 1639 A.D.. We can positively say that his Prakrit grammar was prevalent before śaka 1608=A.D. 1687, because a manuscript in the India Office Library (No. 946) is dated in that year. Nitti-Dolci in the introduction to her edition of the first *śākhā* of the *Prākṛtakalpataru* adopts the view that the manuscript in question indicates the date of its composition. But Lassen⁸

1. Mitra, VII, p. 263. No. 2512 ; IOC, Nos. 985-86.

2. Ioc. No. 874.

3. *Ibid.* Nos. 4011-12.

4. *Ibid.* Nos. 853.54.

5. *Ibid.* No. 861.

6. *Ibid.* No. 862.

7. IA, 1927, p. 1.

8. *Institutiones* etc. p. 19ff.

and Grierson¹ are, however, inclined to say that the manuscript bears the date of its writing. The latter two scholars, are perhaps correct in their judgement. M. Ghosh² has shown some affinities between Puruṣottama and Rāmaśarman, and says that these affinities are due to the latter's close acquaintance with the former's grammar which are not possible—if Rāmaśarman is not contemporary to Puruṣottama. He, therefore, supposes in the absence of any positive evidence that he must have flourished between the 12th and the 16th centuries A.D.. This gives us, at least, the upper and the lower limits of his time.

§56. The *Prākṛtakalpataru*³ is a metrical work with a prose commentary consisting of three chapters, called *Śākhā*, which are sub-divided into 15 *stavakas* (i.e. clusters 9+3+3), consisting again of several stanzas, called *kusumas* (flowers). In the nine *stavakas* of the first *śākhā*, the general characteristic features of Mahārāṣṭri are described dividing them into the *ac*, *hal*, *yukta*, *dviṭva*, *sandhi*, *sub*, *tiñ*, *dhātuvādeśa* and *nipātas*. Then come the three *stavakas* of the second chapter where the Śaurasenī (1st *stavaka*), the *Prācyā* (2nd *stavaka*) including Āvanti, Bāhlikī, Māgadhi, Ardhamāgadhi and Dākṣiṇātyā are treated. The first two sections of the third *śākhā* besides Nāgara, Vṛāṇḍa and Upanāgara, describe a number of minor dialects similar to Puruṣottama. The last section is entirely devoted to Paisāci with its varieties like, Kaikeya, Śaurasena, Pāñcāla and others. Like Puruṣottama, he also divides Prakrit into *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā*, *Apabhraṃśa* and *Paiśāci*. He further says that there are various kinds of

1. *Op. cit.*

2. Introduction to his edition of *Prākṛta-kalpataru*, p. xv.

3. The entire text *Prākṛta-kalpataru* has been edited by M. Ghosh, Calcutta, 1954. Several chapters have been edited by G. A. Grierson, *Dhātuvādeśa* (8th chapter), Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal No. VIII, 1924. *Bhāṣā and Vibhāṣā* (Chapter 2 *stavakas* 3) 1A. 1927-28. Supplementary; JRAS 1918, pp. 489-517. *Apabhraṃśa* (Chapter 3 *stavakas* 1 and 2) 1A. (51 and 52), 1922-23, pp. 13-28; 1-8, 187-91. *Paiśāci* (Chapter 3 *stavakas* 3) in Sir Asutosh Mookherjee Silver Jubilee Volumes III, Part 2, Calcutta, 1925, pp. 119-41; *Paiśāci in the Prākṛita-ka-pataru* 1A. XLIX, p. 114; *Paiśāci and Cūlikā-paiśāci*, 1A. LII, pp. 16-17. First 9 chapters without the 8th by L. Nitti-Dolci, *Édition de la Premier Śākhā du Prākṛta-kalpataru des Rāmaśarman*, Paris, 1939.

Apabhraṃśa, such as, Ṭākki, Saindhava, Pāñcālī, Mālvā, Vaidarbhī, Lāṭī, Audrī, Kaikeyāī, Gauḍī, Kauntalā, Pāṇḍyā, Saimhala (?), Kālīṅga, Prācyā, Ābhirikā, Kārṇāṭa, Madhya-deśīya, Gaurjara, Drāvida, Pāścātyā, Vaitāṅika and Kāñci—and each is distinguished by its salient characteristic features from the other. He again points out that Apabhraṃśa may be classified according to the use of the *deśya* words current in each country in which it is spoken. He has not given the characteristics of these Apabhraṃśas according to this division, because it is very difficult to determine the minute differences. He divides Paisācī, first of all, into two groups—*Śuddha* and *Samkīrṇa*. Of these the first is of various kinds, such as, Kaikeya, Śaurasena etc. ; while the *Samkīrṇa* is again divided into *Śuddha* and *aśuddha*, of which *śuddha* has two varieties, e.g. *bhāṣa-śuddha* and *pada-śuddha* with two divisions, such as, *ardhaśuddha* and *catuṣpada-viśuddha*. All these types have been explained with illustrations. Herein lies the importance of the Prakrit grammar of Rāmaśarmā. This grammar is important for another purpose also. In its commentary he has given numerous quotations mostly on the various exploits of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa which show that there existed a number of Prakrit poems from the episodes of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legends current among mediaeval poets of Bengal. These quotations are from such works which are not available at present.

§57. As regards the source of his work, Rāmaśarmā, in one of the introductory verses found in a manuscript preserved in the India Office Library (No. 946), mentions one Lañkeśvara as follows :

*etāsu Lañkeśvarabhaṣītāsu bhāṣāsu kautūhalaśālinoye/
teṣāṃ pramodāya kṛtīr mamaīṣā setvādikāvyaṇī padārthakārī||*

Lassen, R. L. Mitra and Grierson wanted to identify this Lañkeśvara with the author of the *Prākṛtakāmadhenu*. But that short work consisting of not more than 40 sūtras cannot be the source of this big work. So Lañkeśvara's work must be a bigger one which may be the source of his work, if we consider this verse as genuinely preserved.

CHAPTER SIX

MĀRKAṆḌEYA

§58. The last well-known extant Prakrit grammarian belonging to the eastern school is Mārkaṇḍeya-kavi, whose *Prākṛtasarvasva*¹ though very late occupies an important position among Prakrit grammars. His Prakrit grammar, written in verse with a prose commentary followed by illustrations, is very much similar to the grammar of Puruṣottama particularly in the sections on the dialects other than Mahārāṣṭrī. Unfortunately nothing is known about his life and personal history. But from the concluding verse of his works which runs as follows—

*Śrīmad-vīra-Mukundadevanṛpatau doḥstambhakumbhīnasa-
krīḍā-grasta-samasta-śātravakulaprāṇānile dharmataḥ|
śāsatyutkala-mediniṃ Raghupatau sākṣād ayodhyām iva
grāme vīravarapratāpa-nṛpateḥ pūrṇo nibandho navaḥ||*

we come to know that he composed his grammar in the reign of Mukundadeva who was then ruling over Utkala or Orissa and Mārkaṇḍeya had finished his work at his capital. If this Mukundadeva² is the same who is said to have ruled over Orissa about 1664 A. D., Mārkaṇḍeya may be tentatively assigned to the 17th century A.D..

§59. Mārkaṇḍeya, in the introductory verses of his grammar, mentions the names of Śākalya, Kohala, Bharata, Vararuci, Bhāmaha, and Vasantarāja as his authorities. Moreover, we find quotations from *Brhatkathā*, *Saptasatī*, *Setubandha*, *Gauḍavaho*, *Śakuntalā*, *Ratnāvalī*, *Mālatīmādhava*, *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, *Veṇīśamhāra*, *Karpūramañjarī* and *Vilāsavatī*.

1. *Prākṛtasarvasva* of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavi by Bhaṭṭanātha Svāmin, Granthapradarsinī series, Vizagapatam, February-June, 1912 ; ed. by K. C. Acharya, PTS, Varanasi, 1968.

2. There are many Mukundadevas in the history of Orissa, vide Dolci, *Ibid.*, p. 91.

It is interesting to note that he has quoted from his own work '*Vilāsavatī-saṭṭaka*, while prohibiting the use of genitive for purposive dative, as follows :

"*tādarthyē vihitāyāścaturthyāḥ ṣaṣṭhiḥ na syāt. 'pāṇā gao bhamaro labbhā dukkhaṁ gaindesu'-suhā rajjaṁ kira hoi raṇṇo' iti mama Vilāsavatī-saṭṭake.*" (V.131).

Viśvanātha (14th century A. D.) in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (VI.277-79, commentary) mentions one *Vilāsavatī*, a *nāṭyarā-saka* ; but it is different from that of Mārkaṇḍeya and may be an earlier work. Mārkaṇḍeya also quotes from the *Prākṛta-piṅgala* :

'*jai dīho via vaṇṇo lahu jīhā paḍhai hoi so vi lahū*
(*Pra. Pin. 1. 8*) *iti Śrīmatpiṅgalapādair dīrghasya laghutvātīdeśāt.* (V.106).

It is a fact worth noting here again that *Prākṛtapiṅgala* also quotes some verses about Chouhan king Hammira who flourished in the early 14th century A.D.. The *Prākṛta-piṅgala* may, therefore, be placed in the 15th century A.D., and the upper limit of Mārkaṇḍeya's date can be approximately fixed later than that. Besides mentioning the names of his authorities, he also refers to one Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Bhojadeva, Daṇḍin, Hariścandra, and Kapila. All these show that Mārkaṇḍeya had a large number of works and authors before him.

§60. For a knowledge of the dialects other than Mahārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī, the study of *Prākṛtasarvasva* is important. He has given in detail some additional characteristic features of Śaurasenī which are not normally found in the grammars of any other writers, and Mārkaṇḍeya has made a sharp line of demarcation between Śaurasenī and Mahārāṣṭrī. His chapter on Mahārāṣṭrī in 8 *pādas* is written primarily on the model of Puruṣottama and secondarily on Vararuci, but it is less exhaustive than Hemaçandra and is in many respects independent. Then follows Śaurasenī in the 9th *pāda* divided into nine *prakaraṇas* (sub-sections). Then comes Prācyā described in the 10th *pāda*. Āvanti and

Bāhlikī in the 11th and Māgadhi, with a reference to Ardhamāgadhi (no. 38), in the 12th chapter. These sections, i.e. 9-12 *pādas* bear the title “*bhāṣā-vivecanam*”. Next he describes the *vibhāṣās* in 13-16 *pādas*; and Apabhraṃśa in 17-18 *pādas*, and finally, the Paisāci in 19-20 *pādas*. Next to Śaurasenī, the language described by him almost accurately is Apabhraṃśa which contains a mass of valuable material for the study of modern eastern languages, such as, Bengali, Oriyā, etc..

§61. According to Mārkaṇḍeya, Prakrit is classified into three categories—*tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *deśi* (*deśya*); and *tadbhava* is again divided into four classes: *bhāṣā*, *vibhāṣā*, Apabhraṃśa and Paisāci. Under the *bhāṣās*, he includes Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Āvanti and Māgadhi, and rejects Ardhamāgadhi, Dākṣiṇātyā and Bāhlikī. Under the *vibhāṣās*, he includes Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śabarī, Ābhirikā, and Ṭakkī, and denies Oḍrī and Drāviḍī. He describes only three kinds of Apabhraṃśa, namely, Nāgara, Vrācaḍa and Upanāgara. In the introductory verses he mentions 24 kinds of Apabhraṃśa, but the characteristic features of these dialects are not given by him. He has only given the characteristics of three Paisāci Prakrits, e.g. Kaikeya, Śaurasena and Pāñcāla, instead of eight as mentioned in the introduction.

§62. Lastly, it can be said that Mārkaṇḍeya is greatly indebted to both Puruṣottama and Rāmaśarman, because he treats the different dialects of Prakrit in the same order as we find them in Puruṣottama as well as in Rāmaśarman, although he has discussed them more elaborately in some places than the others. In his treatment of *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā*, he follows but modestly the path of Rāmaśarman and Puruṣottama with some minor omissions, deliberately made, which in his opinion are superfluous. It is interesting to note that these three should be studied together, so that in some obscure points one may be explained with the help of the other. They are all important in elucidating and correcting each other's text.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JIVA GOSVĀMĪ¹

§63. While searching for the manuscripts of the Prakrit portion of Kramadīśvara's *Samkṣiptasāra*, I have lately come across two manuscripts which contain two folios on Prakrit grammar appended to a *Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇa*, entitled *Harināmāmṛta*. One of these two manuscripts deposited in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, has been catalogued by Haraprasad Śāstrī in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts etc.* Vol-VI (grammar), 1931, but to my utter surprise it is found that while describing this manuscript (vide no. 4567, pp. 230-32) he fails to point out, perhaps, through oversight, the folio 16A which deals with Prakrit grammar. The other manuscript is found in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat of Calcutta. In both the manuscripts the name of the author is not mentioned. It is simply stated—*iti Śrī Harināmāmṛte Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe prākṛta-pādaḥ samāptaḥ*. But the authorship of these manuscripts has been attributed to Jiva Gosvāmī by the compilers of the Catalogues mentioned above. Before going into details about this Prakrit grammar, I would like to put forth the results of my study and to discuss whether this can be attributed to Jiva Gosvāmī.

§64. It is well-known from the history of the Vaiṣṇava literature that the Sanskrit grammar, entitled *Harināmāmṛta* in which the rules and illustrations of Sanskrit language are associated, has been composed by Jiva Gosvāmī², the

1. This is a revised version of my article entitled, *A Skeleton Grammar of Prakrit attributed to Jiva Gosvāmī*, published in the Bulletin of the Calcutta Philological Society, Vol. IV, 1963, pp. 10-31.

2. For his life and personal history, vide, D. C. Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911; *The Vaiṣṇava Literature of Mediaeval Bengal*, Calcutta, 1917; Haridāsa Dās, *Śrī Śrī Gauḍīya*

only son of his untimely deceased father, Anupama, and the distinguished nephew of Sanātana and Rūpa Gosvāmī of Bengal. It is said that Jīva Gosvāmī composed his grammar in the interest of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal who wrote their religious literature not only in Sanskrit but also in the vernacular language of his time. Of the few sectarian schools,¹ Jīva Gosvāmī, who makes grammar the vehicle of religion, is the prominent one, although as early as in the 13th century, Vopadeva² in his *Mugdhabodha* gave a sectarian turn in the selection of examples illustrating his rules, whenever possible, from the names of his gods ; but he did not make so extravagant a use of divine names for the

Vaiṣṇava Jivana (in Bengali), Vol-I, Navadvīpa Gaurāṅga era 465, pp. 82-84 ; *Śrī Śrī Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Sāhitya* (in Bengali), Navadvīpa, Caitanya era 462, pp. 215-17 ; S. K. De, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1961, pp. 146-75 ; Sukumar Sen, *History of Bengali Literature* (in Bengali) Vol-I, part 1, 4th enlarged and revised edn. Calcutta, 1963. As regards his date or antiquity no authentic information is available. His birth-date is uncertain, but he does not appear to have seen Caitanya. He was a mere child of two or three years when his father died. However, S. Sen has shown that his reputation as a prolific, versatile and voluminous writer was well-established towards the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries. Moreover, from the folio of a manuscript preserved in the Vardhamāna Sāhitya Sabhā (the photostat copy of which has also been given in his book), he has tried to prove that the date of Jīva may fall between 1516-17 and 1603 A.D.. These two dates can be taken respectively as the latest possible birth-date and death-date of Jīva.

1. H. P. Śāstrī in the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol-VI, Calcutta, 1931, p. lxiI thinks that Kramadīśvara also wrote his Prakrit grammar in the interest of the Śaivas of Bengal. But this is not true, because his sūtras and examples are not of any sectarian type.

2. His name has curiously been derived : *u* means Śiva and *a* means Viṣṇu ; therefore by euphonic combination (*u*+*a*), we have *va*, meaning thereby, a worshipper of Śiva and Viṣṇu. cf. H. P. Śāstrī, *Ibid.* p. lxxxI. Since he has taken examples from the names of these two deities, his name has been derived in this manner.

technical terms of his grammar.¹ Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.) as a Jaina writes his grammar at the suggestion of the king Siddharāja Jayasīṃha and gives examples from the Jainistic touch. But in the 15th-16th centuries, all these authors were outdone by the followers of Caitanya (1486-1534 A.D.).² They followed their doctrines so much that even in their grammatical texts not only they took all examples, but also were their technical and grammatical terms described by the employment of numerous names of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the favourite deities of the Vaiṣṇavas. Their intention is explained in the introductory verses of *Harināmāmṛta* where a quotation from the *Bhāgavata* is found :

“sāṅketyaṁ pārihāsyam vā stobham helanam eva vā/
vaikuṇṭha-nāma-graṇam aśeṣāghaham viduḥ|| 6.2.14.

i.e., “Uttering the name of Vaikuṇṭha even when done symbolically or in joke, with due veneration or in disrespect, always absolves one from sin.” It is, therefore, for this purpose that Jīva Gosvāmī has taken all the grammatical nomenclatures for his grammar from the names of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa and others, so that the devout Vaiṣṇavas may be doubly benefited—by learning grammatical rules and by uttering the blessed names of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā or their gaṇas at every step.

§65. But it is to be noted here that the Sanskrit grammar *Harināmāmṛta* mentioned above is a bigger treatise than the present *Harināmāmṛta* (our manuscripts concerned) which is, perhaps, the shorter version of this bigger work and it is to this shorter version that a Prakrit grammar, so long unknown and unearthed, is added. It has been said above (§63), that Haraprasad Śāstrī, Purīdāsa and others in their respective treatises mentioned below are of opinion that

1. S. K. Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915, p. 106 ; H. P. Śāstrī, *Ibid.* p. lxi.

2. This date is conjectural for which vide, Sukumar Sen's book mentioned above.

this shorter version has also been composed by Jīva Gosvāmi, and therefore, this Prakrit grammar found in this shorter version must have been attributed to him, in spite of the fact that the name of the author is not mentioned in the manuscripts. With regard to this Prakrit grammar which is appended only to the (*Laghu*)—*Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa*, we are confronted with some problems, because from a careful perusal of all the manuscripts of *Harināmāmṛta* found in the Asiatic Society and in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta, it can generally be said that his grammar (excluding Prakrit portion) has got three versions whose descriptions are given below :

Version A.

§66. With regard to the version A, designated by me as “longer version” in the colophon¹ of which the name Jīva Gosvāmi occurs, we do not find any Prakrit portion. I have consulted all the available manuscripts² as well as the three authorised printed editions³ ; but unfortunately none of them

1. “*Iti veda-vedāṅga-vedānteti hāsa-purāṇādya-dhyāyanā-dhyāpana-janita-yajastoma-soma-dhavalī-kṛta-dīn-mukhair mahāmahopādhyāya-nikaraiḥ parama-bṛhattama-siddhi-saṅghaiśca niṣevita-pādapaṅkajaiḥ paramahansa-kula-mukuta-maṇi-Śrīmad-Jīva-Gosvāmi-pādair viracitam idam Śrīmad-Harināmāmṛtākhyarṇ vaiṣṇavarṇ vyākaraṇarṇ sampūrṇam.*”

2. H. P. Śāstrī, *Ibid*, p. 232, entry No. 4568 ; [The chapter on *ākhyāta* only. Folio, 2 to 57, of which 28 to 54 are missing] and entry No. 4569 : [The chapter on *Nāmaviṣṇupada* only of the Version A, Folio 37. Śāstrī says ‘this is the shorter version’ ; but it is not true. cf. Mitra’s *Notice* No. 423] ; Chintaharan Chakraborty, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, 1935, p. 178, manuscript No. Skt. 854 and p. 179, manuscript No. 1460.

3. *Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇam*, Murshidabad, from 1291 B. S. to 1337 B. S. in several parts ; second edn. by Śrī Brajanāth Mīśra, Beharampur, 1337 B. S, with two commentaries—*Bālatoṣaṇi* of Harekṛṣṇācārya and *Taddhitoddipani* of Gopīcaranadāsa and a Bengali translation. Harekṛṣṇa commented upto the sūtra No. 259 of the *samāsa* chapter and the rest (Nos : 260-373) of the same were completed by Gopīcarana with the same name “*Bālatoṣaṇi*”, but with a different name on the *Taddhita* chapter,

contain any Prakrit grammar. Moreover, the editors of these three do not mention any Prakrit grammar belonging to this version.

Version B.

§67. We know the existence of the version B, also designated by me as *Samkṣipta-Harināmāmṛta*, from the introduction of Purīdāsa's edition of longer version mentioned above. The manuscript of this version generally contains 36 or 37 folios. It has been edited¹ by Śrī Purīdāsa from the two manuscripts—one brought from Vṇḍāvana and the other from the University of Dacca bearing No. 4517. This Dacca manuscript², the editor informs us, also contains a Prakrit grammar. But unfortunately he has neither edited that portion, nor has he made any remarks about the number of the folios containing Prakrit grammar at the time of editing this *saṃkṣipta* version. So until this manuscript is examined carefully, nothing can be said on the Prakrit grammar of this version.

Version C.

§68. In the version C, containing 15 or 16 folios, there is a skeleton grammar of Prakrit in addition to Sanskrit. It has been named by me as '*Laghu-Harināmāmṛta*', although in none of the manuscripts we find any such name. I know

called, *Taddhitoddipani*. Another edition by Śrī Bhakti Siddhānta Sarasvatī Gosvāmī, Nadia, Caitanya era 442; latest critical edition by Śrī Purīdāsa, published by Sacīndranāth Roy Choudhury, Mymonsinha, 1947. This edition contains two more books *Samkṣipta (Laghu) Harināmāmṛta* and *Dhātusaṃgraha* of Jīva Gosvāmī.

1. Vide Appendix of his edition of larger *Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa*.

2. It is needless to say that I have neither consulted nor seen this manuscript.

only the four¹ manuscripts of this version, of which only two MSS contain the folios on Prakrit grammar, leaving aside the manuscript in the University of Dacca, bearing No. D.R. 162. This MS, as Śrī Puridāsa² says, also contains a Prakrit grammar which, it is needless to say, has not been consulted by me. Rajendralal Mitra in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*³ refers to one manuscript which fully corresponds, as the description goes there, with the two manuscripts⁴ consulted by me. But Mitra's manuscript lacks in Prakrit portion. Moreover, the authorship of this manuscript is attributed to Rūpa Gosvāmi on which the discussion will be made later on. However, it must be pointed out here that it is only in this *Laghu-Harināmāmṛta* that we find the Prakrit grammar, but not in the versions A and B which we have in printed forms.

§69. It will not be out of place here if I give a brief synopsis of these three versions for the proper comprehension in this matter.

1. Recently I came to know a few more manuscripts of this version preserved in the Vrindaban Research Institute, Loi Bazar, Vrindaban, when I visited the Institute in October, 1976. There I surveyed over seventy manuscripts of *Harināmāmṛta-Vyākaraṇa* (=HV) deposited in the Institute. While none of them give a complete grammar in one full MS (except the no. 6766 which also seems to have been handled by more than one person), a complete full text of HV can still be obtained on the collation of other MSS dealing with different chapters of the grammar thus making it a complete one. Out of these MSS, only a few shorter (*Laghu*) versions of HV are noticed, of which only one (*Laghu*) version contains a *Prākṛta-pāda*. I could not get the photostat copy of the MS, but I ran by eyes over the pages, and as far as I remember, it is not very much different from the MSS consulted and collated by me for the text given in the Appendix.

2. *Ibid.* Intro. p. 2.

3. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part First-Grammar, Calcutta, 1877, p. 163, No. 1136.

4. The description of these two manuscripts on which this Prakrit grammar is based will be given below.

Contents	Versions ¹		
	A	B	C
			Manuscripts
	Printed.	Printed.	AS VS RM

Beginning

Śrī Śrī Rādhākṛṣṇābhyām namaḥ

(A, B). *o namo vighneśvarāya*

(AS). *Śrī Śrī Harir jayati* (VS).

Śrī Kṛṣṇāya namaḥ (RM).

Kṛṣṇam upāsītum asya srajam iva

nāmāvalim tanavai/

Do. Do. Do. x x

tvaritam vltared eṣā tatsāhityādi

jāmodam/1/

āhata-jalpita-jaṣitam dṛṣtvā

śabdānuśāsanastomam/

Do. Do. Do. x x

Harināmāvali-valitam vyākaraṇam

vaṣṇavārthamācinmaḥ/2/

vyākaraṇe marunivṛti jīvanalub-

dhah sadāgha-samvighnāḥ/

Do. Do. Do. x x

Harināmāmṛtam etat pibantu

śatadhāvagāhantām/3/

Śriharim madhuraṁ natvā

harināmāmṛtam rasam/

x Do. Do. Do. Do.

vyākaraṇaḥca tad-bhaktiā

pibantu vrajavāsinaḥ/4/

sāṅketyam pāṛthāsyam vā

stobham helanam eva vā/

Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.

vaikuṇṭha-nāma-grahaṇam

aśeṣāghaharam viduḥ/5/

nārāyaṇād udbhūto' yam varṇa-

kramah

Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.

1. AS=MS of the Asiatic Society; VS=MS of Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, RM=MS of Rajendralal Mitra : X indicates not found, while 'Do' indicates 'found'.

Contents	Versions				
	A	B	C		
	Manuscripts				
	Printed.	Printed.	AS	VS	RM
Colophon & chapter marking :	Sūtra Nos.				
i) <i>iti Śrī Harināmāmṛte</i> (<i>tākhye</i>) (<i>Samkṣipta</i>) etc. <i>Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe sandhi-</i> <i>prakaraṇaṃ samāptam.</i>	147	86	85	92	83
ii) <i>iti Śrī Harināmāmṛte</i> <i>Vaiṣṇavavyākaraṇe subanta</i> (<i>viṣṇu</i>) <i>pādaḥ samāptaḥ</i>	218	154	118	113	108
iii) <i>iti...ākhyātapādaḥ samāptaḥ</i>	586	309	61	65	116
iv) <i>iti...kāraka pādaḥ</i> „	275	41	29	33	30
v) <i>iti...kṛdanta pādaḥ</i> „	466	98	24	26	37
vi) <i>iti...samāsa pādaḥ</i> „	373	45	22	28	25
vii) <i>iti...taddhita pādaḥ</i> „	1127	24	18	20	20
	3192	757	357	377	419
viii) <i>iti...Prākṛta pādaḥ</i> „	x	x	28	32	x
			—	—	
			385	409	
ix) <i>iti...Chandonirūpanam.</i> [akin to Chando-mañjari but with minor alterations]	x	x	a few	a few	x
			verses	verses	

§70. From the above it is evident that although there is no Prakrit portion in the printed texts i.e., in the versions A and B, a closer and critical analysis will reveal the fact that there is a consanguinity in all of them, they are almost identical, because the introductory verses (quoted above), the sūtras, and the commentary on the Sanskrit grammar of all these three versions are practically the same, the only difference being in the number of the sūtras. The congruity is also noticed in the colophon. Of course some minor differences in the commentary

are also found, but those are for shortening the commentary from the longer version, otherwise all the three manuscripts of the “*Laghu*” version are almost identical.

§71. If all the Sanskrit portions of these three are identical, then, can it be said that they are all coming from the pen of one and the same author? The answer to this question would have been easier if tradition had not stood in our way. Let us, therefore, discuss briefly what the tradition says about the authorship.

§72. Harekṛṣṇācārya in the introductory portion of his commentary *Bālatoṣaṇī*¹ has said that *Harināmāmṛta* was originally composed in the sūtra form by Caitanya’s disciple Sanātana Gosvāmī (1484-1558 A.D.),² and which afterwards was revised and enlarged by Jīva Gosvāmī. Similarly there is a tradition³ by which this grammar is attributed to Rūpa Gosvāmī (1490-1563 A.D.), another principal disciple and companion of Caitanya, and who gave up the service of Allauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal and became a Vaiṣṇava Sannyāsi. Rajendralal Mitra in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* notices one *Harināmāmṛta*⁴ of the “*Laghu*” version attributed to Rūpa Gosvāmī. But this manuscript fully corresponds with the other two manuscripts of the version C, where the name of Rūpa Gosvāmī is not found.

1. *Śrīkṛṣṇadeva-prasādam adhigamya Śrīmacchrīla Sanātana Gosvāmī-nām sūtrānusāreṇa Śrī-Jīva-Gosvāmināmā granthakāraḥ.....Śrī Harināmāmṛtākhyā-Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇam ārabhamāṇaḥ* etc. p. 2 of Brajanāth Mīśra’s edn. 1337 B. S..

2. The date is conjectural, vide, Sukumar Sen, *Ibid*.

3. For this, cf. Belvalkar, *Sys. Skt. Gram.* p. 113; H. P. Śāstrī, *Des. Cat. Skt. Mss.* (VI), p. cxii; Gurupada Hāldār, *Vyākaraṇa Darśaner Itihāsa*, Calcutta, 1947, p. 456; Śrī Purīdāsa’s edition of *Harināmāmṛta*, intro. p. 2.

4. “The work [by Rūpa Gosvāmī] differs from another work of the same name which is due to Jīva Gosvāmī alias Jīveśvara Svāmī, mentioned by Colebrooke, and noticed under No. 428 of the *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*”. *Ibid*, p. 163.

Moreover, Mitra's manuscript is similar to the versions A and B, both of which are attributed to Jīva Gosvāmī. However, apart from these references, unfortunately we do not know any grammar going by their names, excepting "*Prayuktā-khyātacandrikā*" which is ascribed to Rūpa Gosvāmī.¹ This treatise of Rūpa dealing with the roots and verbs as the title suggests, is not available at present, nor has any reference to his manuscripts been yet brought to light.²

§73. It should be borne in mind that the grammar which is current now-a-days and goes under the title *Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa* (i.e. version A) was written by Jīva Gosvāmī who is clearly mentioned in the colophon quoted above. So, no doubt has yet been raised as to the authorship of Jīva Gosvāmī's *Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa* (=version A). If that is the case with regard to the version A, then what are we to suppose for the rest? Should we surmise on the strength of Harekṛṣṇācārya that Sanātana had originally composed the grammar in a skeleton form (like our version B or C), which had been rewritten and enlarged by Jīva Gosvāmī in order to make it a standard one? Or, should we believe in tradition that Rūpa Gosvāmī's grammar (like version B or C) had been revised and augmented by Jīva for its perfection? Or, should any one of the versions B and C be attributed to Sanātana and Rūpa respectively? The conclusion would be hasty if we attach too much importance to these two authorities, because the authorship of a grammarian flourished in the 16th-17th centuries, cannot be proved on the evidence of a commentator like Harekṛṣṇācārya belonging to the middle of the 19th century, where there is no stronger proof in support of his statement. Similarly, how far it will be worthwhile for us to attribute a grammar to Rūpa Gosvāmī solely on the evidence of Mitra's manuscript, is a matter of discussion. Moreover, Mitra's

1. Vide, Purīḍasā's edn. intro., p. 2; Haridāsa's *Vaiṣṇavasāhitya* etc.

2. But Gurupada Hāldar says that Rūpa Gosvāmī's grammar is still consulted by the Vaiṣṇavas (vide, *Ibid*, p. 456). We are not sure about the validity of his statement.

manuscript is remarkably new. Therefore, in the absence of any conclusive evidence we refrain from commenting anything on this controversy, although we are inclined to say that Jīva Gosvāmī has composed only the Sanskrit grammar (=Version A) for the reasons stated below.

§74. There is no denying the fact that the current *Hari-nāmāmṛta* (i.e. version A) has been composed by Jīva Gosvāmī, as his name is mentioned in the colophon of the manuscripts. There is again nothing to deny even that the introductory verses (quoted above) as well as the common Sanskrit sūtras and vṛttis of the versions B and C are exactly identical with those of A. This proves beyond doubt that all the Sanskrit sūtras of these three versions were from the pen of the same author; and as Jīva's name is mentioned explicitly in the colophon of A, I am inclined to say that Jīva is the author of all the Sanskrit sūtras of these three versions.

§75. But what about the Prakrit grammar? Purīdāsa is inclined to assume that Jīva Gosvāmī, perhaps, first composed the "*Laghu*" grammar for the beginners¹ and then revised it in two instalments before it took a final and larger shape which we find now-a-days. It is true, says he, that in A no Prakrit portion is available, but that may be owing to the fact that he has not revised or re-written the same any further. So in his opinion all the three versions (including Prakrit portion) were originally written by Jīva Gosvāmī.

§76. But we beg to differ from him for two possible reasons. We believe that the longer version was composed first, and the *Laghu* version came out of it. It is possible that when in course of time the study of the longer version of *Hari-nāmāmṛta* was getting obsolescent owing to its bulky size, (for which it had become an impediment on the part of a

1. At the end it is stated that this was composed for Gopālādāsa. The verse is :

*Hari-nāmāmṛta-saṁjñam yad artham etat prakāśayāmase |
ubhayatra ca mama mitram sa bhavatu Gopālādāsakhyah ||*

student to acquire mastery over the subject), some one of his disciples or followers thought it necessary to re-edit this longer version by omitting many aphorisms which are not important for the beginners to learn. And with this end in view he, perhaps following the methods adopted by Varadārāja in his *Madhya-Siddhānta-Kaumudī* and *Laghu-Kaumudī*, reduced the size of this longer version by omitting many sūtras which are not necessary for the beginners. And it is at the time of re-editing, the editor, keeping a keen and constant eye on the grammars of Kramadīśvara and Hemacandra, might have added this Prakrit portion to the *Laghu*-version of his Sanskrit Grammar in order to complete the study of a language which not only includes Sanskrit, but also Prakrit which was the vernacular of the day. Moreover, as the study of Prakrit at that time had been gradually declining, he did not think it necessary to render it into a bigger work which might not gain any popularity in the presence of other eastern Prakrit grammarians whose works are pretty exhaustive. And the editor, out of reverence, has duly attributed the Prakrit grammar also to Jīva Gosvāmī. Or, it is also possible to surmise that the Prakrit portion might have been added altogether by a different man in later times. But in any case the Prakrit grammar has also been attributed to Jīva Gosvāmī by all these later writers, because one of the peculiar characteristics of most of the Vaiṣṇavas is their extreme modesty which does not allow them to explicitly mention their names in many a work of their authorship. It is only for this reason that a good deal of controversy has centred round the authorship of a number of Vaiṣṇava works—specially those of Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva Gosvāmī.¹ So is the case with this Prakrit grammar also.

§77. It is a fact worth registering that there is a striking similarity of this grammar with that of the fragmentary

1. Instances of this kind of confusion have been noted by S. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol-I, London, 1923, p. 255, fn. 3. Besides his references, Chintāharan Chakraborty has pointed out some more instances : “*Harṣadūta*”, generally known to be a work of Rūpa is found to have been attributed to Jīva and also to one Devadāsa in a manuscript

Prākṛta-kāmadhenu attributed to Rāvaṇa Laṅkeśvara,¹ both in forms, contents, arrangement and almost in number of sūtras, but with a different grammatical terminology. The similarity does not, of course, mean the exact reproduction from one to the other; but it is so strong, indeed, that no one could examine the two without believing them to have sprung from a common source; but that common source is not easy to ascertain at present. It may be that both of them might have taken their skeleton grammar of Prakrit from a text current at that time. A few verses on metre which are similar to *Chandomañjarī* give us an additional support to the later interpolation of this portion. So, with the material available at our disposal, it is not worthwhile to ascribe this Prakrit Grammar to Jīva Gosvāmī.

§78. It will not be out of place here if I mention a few words regarding the date or antiquity of this Prakrit grammar. The upper limit of the time of this grammar cannot be before the seventeenth century A.D. as the editor of the versions B and C knew very well the *Chandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa which had perhaps gained popularity by that time. The lower limit may be assigned to the 18th-19th centuries, because of the fact that it is akin to the fragmentary *Prākṛta-kāmadhenu* which was composed by that time as determined by G. C. Basu.

of the work and a commentary on it in the Dacca University. The *Vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī*, a commentary on the tenth Book of the *Bhāgavata* believed to be a work of Sanātana, is also ascribed to Jīva and Rūpa. The *Harināmaṃṣṭaryākaraṇa*, supposed to be a work of Jīva is attributed to Rūpa." *Sanskrit Literature of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal*, ABORI (Vol-X), Poona, 1930, p. 117.

1. *Prākṛta-kāmadhenu* of Rāvaṇa Laṅkeśvara (A Lost Work Rediscovered) ed. by G. C. Basu in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol-VIII, 1946, pp. 31-39. To facilitate our comprehension in this matter, I have given the identical sūtras from the *Prākṛta-kāmadhenu* in the footnote of the text appended at the end. In addition to this I may say that in editing this Prakrit grammar I have derived immense help from this fragmentary *Kāmadhenu* in correcting my text by eschewing numerous errors and obscurities of the manuscripts.

§79. Like Kramadīśvara the *Harināmāmṛta* is also divided into eight chapters, the Prakrit portion being added to the last.¹ The author does not mention the name of the Prakrit language he is describing, but only from the colophon² we come to know that he illustrates the grammar of the Prakrit language. Although he mentions "Prakrit" in the general sense of the term, in reality he sets forth the vernacular type of language of his time used for the propagation of the religious literature of the Vaiṣṇavas. From his description of the Prakrit language it seems probable that the author may have in front of his eyes the fifth chapter of Kramadīśvara's Prakrit grammar, and he also knew the *Prākṛta-kāmadhenu*. As Kramadīśvara describes in the fifth chapter the language of Apabhraṃśa (or Avahaṭṭha?) which fully corresponds with this grammar, it is possible that the author might have discussed in a condensed form this Apabhraṃśa (or Avahaṭṭha) language of Kramadīśvara.

§80. The characteristics of Prakrit as enunciated there are not a full and detailed grammar of that language. It is, on other hand, a meagre description of a type of language prevalent in the literature of his time. The arrangement of the sūtras is inconsistent and incoherent, and he begins abruptly and describes in an unsystematic manner the elementary sūtras of Prakrit language for the beginners, but unfortunately it is so short, indeed, that a student can learn very little from it.

§81. But this work is of great value to us, for it says that at least 150 years ago the study of Prakrit was prevalent in Bengal, and this helps us in recording some of the salient linguistic features of the eastern Prakrit (?) which he had culled out from his own experience. Before I give

1. In version C, particularly of AS and VS, there are five or six incomplete introductory verses, called *Chandonitrūpaṇam*, which are akin to Gaṅgādāsa's *Chando-mañjarī* with minor alterations.

2. *iti Śrī Harināmāmṛte Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe Prākṛtapādaḥ samāptaḥ.*

the linguistic analysis I must say a few words about the text-constitution of this grammar which is made known for the first time to the scholarly world. This Prakrit grammar is based on the two manuscripts¹ described below.

A=This manuscript is found in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and is described by H. P. Śāstrī² in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 230, thus :

“Substance, foolscap paper. $12\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Folio, 19 (the first three leaves are extra). Lines 7, 8 on a page. Extent in Ślokas, 456, character, Bengali. Date, Śaka, 1744. Appearance, fresh. Complete.”

Out of these 16 (19-3) folios, the Prakrit portion is found only in one folio (i.e. 16A). It has eight lines only. At the end of this folio, it is written—“*iti Harināmāmṛte Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe Prākṛta-pādaḥ samāptaḥ*”. It has some verses on metres, but these are akin to *Chandomañjarī* with minor alterations.

B=This manuscript is found in Vaṅgliya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta. It bears the manuscript no. Skt. 1130 and contains 15 folios, out of which, the Prakrit portion starts from the folio 14B (3rd line after three words) and extends upto the end, i.e. 15B (one line). In 14B and 15A, it has five and seven lines respectively ; while the 15B contains only [*iti Harināmāmṛte Vaiṣṇava-vyākaraṇe*, 15A] *Prākṛtapādaḥ sampūrṇaḥ, Śrīharaye namaḥ, Śrī Bhavānīprasāda Upādhyāyena likhitam*”. It is written in Bengali character and its condition is good. It has some verses on metres, but these are taken from *Chandomañjarī* with minor alterations.

1. These two manuscripts have not been referred to by Purīdāsa, nor have they been studied earlier by any scholar.

2. While describing this manuscript (vide No. 4561, pp. 230-32) he fails to point out, perhaps through oversight, the folio 16A which contains the Prakrit portion. It is out of curiosity that I have consulted this manuscript with an idea that this 16-folio manuscript might contain the Prakrit portion and to my utter surprise I have been successful in getting it.

§82. Some of the linguistic features based on the Prakrit grammar of *Harināmāmṛta* are stated below :

1. Vowels : *Change of quantity*. A long vowel sometimes becomes short, e.g. *kāryam* > *kajjam* ; *vadhūh* > *vahu* (17, 29).¹

2. *Loss of vowels*. e.g. *idānim* > *dānim* (28).

3. *Anusvāra*. Nasals become anusvāra ; e.g., *katham* > *kadham* (5).

4. Consonants : *Intervocalic*. Intervocalic or medial *ṭ*, *t* and *r* are generally changed into *ḍ* and *ṭ* and *ṇ* : i.e.

ṭ > *ḍ*, no examples are given (24).

t > *ḍ* and *d*, e.g. *patitam* > *paḍidam* (2, 24).

r > *ṭ* and *ṇ*, e.g. *śrīrāma* > *siriṇāma* or *siritāma* (20).

5. *Consonantal sounds* are sometimes dropped (28).

6. *Aspiration*. Non-aspirate mutes have become aspirated in Prakrit (no example is given, 21).

7. The aspirates *kh*, *th*, *dh* and *bh* between vowels are generally changed into *h* ; e.g. *tathā* > *tahā* (23).

8. *Elision of Consonants*. Intervocalic *d*, if followed by *t*, is elided ; e.g. *tadīyam* > *tīyam* (27).

9. *Conjuncts*.

(i) *ṣ* or (*s*) is elided, e.g. *kāṣṭham* > *kāṭham* (8).

(ii) *Kṛṣṇa* > *kaṇha* (13).

10. *Svarabhakti*. e.g. *śrī* > *siri* (20) ; *prīti* > *piriti* (26).

11. *Declensional endings*.

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	<i>u</i> , <i>o</i> (6-7)	
Acc.		
Ins.	<i>ṭā</i> > <i>e</i> . (12)	<i>bhis</i> > <i>him</i> (14)
Abl.	<i>aiṃ</i> (15)	
Gen-Dat.		<i>nām</i> > <i>ṇaṃ</i> (16)
Loc.	<i>mmi</i> (18)	<i>sum</i> (19)
Voc.	<i>e</i> (7)	

1. The numbers within brackets indicate the serial number of the text edited by me and appended at the end.

12. *Pronominal Substitute*. *bhavān* is substituted by *tumha* (11), e.g. *bhaṇai tumha*.
 13. Dative-Genitive singular of *asmad* is *majjha* (4).
 14. Nominative and genitive singulars of *yusmad* are *tumha* and *tujjha* respectively (3).

Conjugation

15. *Present Indicative*.

- (a) Third person singular ending is in *i* (with the elision of *t*) ; e.g. *bhramati* > *bhamai* (9).

16. *Verbal Substitute*.

- (a) *kr* > *kijja*, *kṛṇa* (10).
 (b) *vad* > *bhaṇa* (11).
 (c) *ā-lok* > *pekkha* (30).

17. *Past Participle Passive*.

Past participle suffix *ta* (< *cta*) is used in the sense of imperfect and perfect tenses ; e.g. *gata* > *gao* (32).

18. *Abstract Suffix*.

tva > *tumh*, *tūṇaṃ*, e.g. *devatva* > *devatūṇaṃ* (31).

19. *Indeclinables*.

idānim becomes *dānim* (28).

20. *Technical Phraseology*. Some of the technical terms used by him in his Prakrit portion are given below :

- (a) Trivikrama—Long sounds are known as Trivikrama *Trivikramo guruḥ*, 1.80)¹.
 (b) Buddha—Vocative is described by Buddha (*sambodhane sur Buddha-saṃjñāḥ* 2.24).
 (c) Rāma—To describe a particular letter Rāma is used (*varṇa-svarūpe Rāmaḥ* 1.37), e.g. *k-rāma* means only the letter *k*.
 (d) Vāmana—Short is Vāmana (*Vāmano'laghuḥ* 1.79).
 (e) Viṣṇu—Insertion of a sound is termed as Viṣṇu (*āgamo Viṣṇuḥ* 1.40).

1. These are references to Puridāsa's edition, the first refers to the chapter, while the second is the number of the sūtras.

- (f). Viṣṇucakram—Anusvāra is generally named as Viṣṇucakram (*am iti Viṣṇucakram* 1.14).
- (g) Viṣṇusarga—Visarga (:) known as Viṣṇusarga (*aḥ iti Viṣṇusargaḥ* 1.16).
- (h) Sat-saṅga—Conjunct is known as Sat-saṅga (*mithaḥ saṁlagno Viṣṇujanaḥ Sat-saṅga-samjñāḥ* 1.82).
- (i) Hara—Elision is considered as Hara (*lopo Haraḥ* 1.41).
- (j) Harikamala—Non-aspirate mutes (*ka-ca-ṭa-ta-pāḥ 'harikamalāni* 1.21).
- (k) Harikhaḍga—Aspirate mutes (*kha-cha-ṭha-ṭha-phāḥ harikhaḍgāḥ* 1.22).

CHAPTER EIGHT

RĀVANA-LAṆKEŚVARA

§83. Lastly comes the *Prākṛtakāmadhenu* attributed to Rāvaṇa Laṅkeśvara¹ (some say simply Rāvaṇa or only Laṅkeśvara). This work is of great value to us, for, it proves one thing certain that the study of Prakrit was prevalent in Bengal till recent time. There are two references which also lead us to say that this work is of Bengal origin. The line “*naukheḷanāyāṁ ḍagamagi*” refers to the boat-race which is a favourite game in Bengal. Similarly in the line—“*kavvaṁ lakṣhaṇavihulā.....so pāu goḍi bhāsā*” one finds a reference to a Kāvya written in Gauḍī Prakrit, which contains the victorious exploits of Lakṣhaṇa, (a corrupt form of lakṣhindara < Lakṣmīndra), the husband of Behulā, or of Vihulā (Vipulā/Behulā), the heroine of the famous Manasāmaṅgala Kāvya of the middle Bengali literature and of Saṅkara (a corrupt form of Candara < Cadra), the father of Lakṣhindara. The work quotes from two other works—one from Saptasatī (*Visinī-pattammī*, sū. no. 24) of Hāla and the other from Karpūramañjarī (*laṅkāgirimekhalāhim* sū. no. 21) of Rājaśekhara. Grierson regrets very much his inability for not finding any manuscript of this work. He believes that the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians is greatly indebted to Laṅkeśvara, because “we can trace the pedigree of the eastern school from Vararuci, through Laṅkeśvara and Rāmaśarmā to Mārkaṇḍeya.” But the discovery of this work by G. C. Basu shows that this small work cannot be the source of inspiration of the eastern Prakrit grammarians like Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya whose works are considerably exhaustive and elaborate.

1. *Prākṛtakāmadhenu* of Rāvaṇa Laṅkeśvara (A Lost Work Rediscovered) by G. C. Basu, New Indian Antiquary, VIII, 1946, pp. 31-39 cf., also Pischel, *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §41.

2. A.T.M.S.J., Volume, Vol-III, Part 2, Calcutta, 1925, p. 120.

§84. R. L. Mitra¹ has given two references to this manuscript and the descriptions given there are almost the same with the text published, though they differ in folio number. In the Dacca University Library another two manuscripts are found from which G. C. Basu has presented to the scholarly world for the first time, the text of *Prākṛta-kāmadhenu* attributed to Rāvaṇa Lankeśvara. The text is so corrupt and mutilated that another edition is still needed, if better manuscripts are available. Basu's one manuscript (designated as B) is dated Śaka 1763=A. D. 1841 which gives the lower limit of his time. The upper limit cannot be fixed with certainty ; but Pischel says² that if Lankeśvara is identical with the author of *Śivastuti* which is published in *Kāvyamāla* I, pp. 6-8, then he must be older than Appayadīkṣita and therefore earlier than the 16th century ; Rāmaśarmā is, therefore, younger. But Rāmaśarmā's reference to "Lankeśvara-bhāṣitāsu" may be from an earlier work on which his grammar is based and the present Lankeśvara is very late. The author of the present *Prākṛtakāmadhenu* cannot be older than Rāmaśarmā, as the work itself says—

*vistarād gaditaṃ pūrvam saṃkṣepād adhuno'cyate/
bāla-bodhakaram sūtram dadhno yādṛg navo'ddhṛtam||*

This shows clearly that there was an elaborate version at one time extant in the country and from that a summarised version had been prepared. "It seems", says G. C. Basu, "that as the study of Prakrit had been gradually declining, the bigger grammars were going out of use, and their place was being taken up by summarised versions. In this case, the original bigger version had perhaps gone out of existence long ago, and this compressed version which had been prepared from it became prevalent in Bengal." It has been stated before that there is a similarity of this grammar with the Prakrit portion of *Harināmamṛta* attributed to Jīva Gosvāmi which proves

1. Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts Nos. 3157 and 3158.

2. *Ibid.* §41.

beyond doubt that both of them might have been copied from an unknown source (see §77).

§85. Before presenting an outline of Lañkeśvara's grammar as can be gathered from his text, it is better to present a brief description of the two manuscripts¹ recently consulted and collated by me from the Vrindaban Research Institute, Loi Bazar, Vrindaban. Besides these two MSS I have also consulted Basu's text with slight emendations mostly on the basis of the various readings given in the footnotes, and these he has discarded as not better readings. The descriptions of the new manuscripts designated by me as V₁ and V₂ are given below.

V₁ represents the MS numbering 1681, the title of which is given in the printed catalogue² as *Kāmadhenu* by Vidyābhakta Rāvaṇa, whereas in the *Maṅgalācaraṇa* verse the name *Prākṛta-kāmadhenu* occurs. Written in Nagri script in a fairly new style this MS with its size 29×14.5 cm has three folios having 13 lines per page with words varying between 40 and 44 per line. It was copied in 1891 Samvat era (=1835 A.D.). It is complete, and except the first one, it is written on both sides of the folio. The ink used for the MS is black. Though the edges of the leaves are slightly damaged, the MS is in good condition and the writing is legible. Originally this MS belonged to the Rādhā Dāmodar Temple in Vrindaban but now it is in the possession of the Institute. The MS begins as follows :

*Śrī Rādhā-Dāmodarau jayataḥ/
Brahmāṇam ādau śirasā pitāmahaṁ namāmi tām
mātaram ādi-vidyām/
Śrī-Rāvaṇena nava-buddhi-śālīnā Vidhiyate
Prākṛta-kāmadhenuḥ//*

1. In the last 28th session of the All India Oriental Conference held in November 1976 at Dharwar, I read a paper on these two MSS, vide *Summaries of Papers*, p. 248.

2. *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vrindaban Research Institute, Part I, Vrindaban, 1976.*

*viṣṭarād gaditaṁ pūrvam saṁkṣepād adhunocyate|
 bāla-bodhakaram sūtram dadhno yādr̥g navoddhṛtam||
 deva-rītyā patitānām tadbhāvajām nigadyate|
 lakṣaṇam neha yat siddham tat samam deśajam ca tat||
 ka-ca-ṭa-ta-pām prāyeṇa lopo'nāda||*

The colophon runs as follows :

*iti vidyābhakta-Śrī Rāvaṇa-kṛta-kāmadhenuḥ samāptā|
 yādr̥ṣam pustakam dr̥ṣtam tādr̥ṣam likhitam mayā|
 yadi siddham asiddham vā mama doṣo na vidyate||
 miti kārṭtika-kṛṣṇā navamīcīm samvat 1891 Śāke li—||*

— V₂ = This MS bearing no. 5713 with its size 17·3 × 9 cm. written on both sides in Nagri script belongs to the same Institute. It is also in good condition and has four folios with 9 lines per folio, the number of words occurring per line being 34. The MS is nearly complete, and only a few lines are missing. The edges of the leaves are not damaged. As the MS has no end, the date of copying the MS is not known. But from the style of writing, it appears that it is quite modern. The beginning of the MS is the same as in V₁. Although ink used is black, two daṇḍakas (//) are sometimes given in red ink. It begins with the salutation to *śrīgurave namaḥ*|| This MS was also collected from the Rādhā Dāmodar Temple.

§86. The features which are interesting in both the MSS are their common readings. Both have the tendency of using *u* in words, such as, *mātaram* as *māturam*, *rītyā* as *rutyā*, etc., both have used *visarga* (:) in the nominative singular of an *a*-base, where it should be *-o*, although one sūtra is provided for that ; both have used freely cerebral *ṣ* and conjuncts of all kinds—as a result, we have both *bhramai* and *bhamai* side by side ; both have also the same common mistakes in spelling the Prakrit words. The scribes who have copied the MSS have little or no knowledge of Prakrit, otherwise some of the mistakes could have been avoided easily, if they had studied Prakrit before copying the MSS.

§87. The common features do not in any way mean that they do not differ from each other. The style of writing of V_2 seems to be later than that of V_1 . The quality of paper in V_2 is newer than that of V_1 , while the quality of ink is better in V_1 than V_2 . Although the calligraphy is almost the same in all the MSS, old or new, it can be said that V_1 is written by a better hand than the other. As these two MSS are found in the same place, one is tempted to conclude that perhaps V_2 has been copied from V_1 , if both are not copied from a third one. Of course, to accept the second alternative seems to be risky, when we are unable to detect from what MS both have been copied. One thing interesting to be noted here is that in both the MSS there is a mention of Vālmiki-tantra (*Prākṛte'smin he vadhāśca darśane iti Vālmikitanetre*). Despite some scribal errors in MSS, it is possible that some of the readings of G. C. Basu's *Prākṛta-kāmadhenu* published long-ago in the New Indian Antiquary (1946) could be emended in the light of the readings presented in these two MSS. I still personally feel that there is yet a scope of re-editing the text, if some more MSS are available besides the present ones.

§88. In the following pages some characteristic features of Prakrit based only on the *Kāmadhenu* are given below. (References are to the sūtras of the text for which, vide Appendix) :

- i) *Vowels*. In Prakrit *ai* and *au* are not used (8).
- ii) *Change of quantity*—A long vowel often becomes short ; e.g. *vadhū* > *vahu* (31) ; *matta* (4) ; *kāryam* > *kajjam*, *śānti* > *sānti* (23).
- iii) *Other changes* are—*idam* > *edaṃ* ; *puruṣa* > *purisa*, *kīḍṣam* > *kerisaṃ* ; *īḍṣam* > *erisaṃ* (12).
- iv) *Omission of vowels*—Sometimes intervocal vowel-sounds are lost due to rapid pronunciation (33), e.g. *naūkhelanāyāṃ ḍagamagi*, *daḍavadi*, *khaḍakhaḍi* may be pronounced as *dagmagi*, *daḍvadi* and *khaḍkaḍi*.

- v)* *Anusvāra*—In Prakrit, *ṇ*, *ñ* and *n* are not used (finally or in conjunct) and they are changed to anusvāra (8).
- vi) *Visarga*—There is no visarga in Prakrit, *o* is used in its place (13); e.g. *devaḥ* > *devo*; *vipraḥ* > *vippo*; *mātaḥ* > *māo*.
- vii) *Intervocalic Consonants*—Intervocalic *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p* are generally elided (1); e.g.

Skt.	<i>sākam</i>	>	Pkt.	<i>sām</i> ,
„	<i>jalacaraḥ</i>	>	„	<i>jalaaro</i> ,
„	<i>kapaṭa</i>	>	„	<i>kapao</i> (?),
„	<i>pātu</i>	>	„	<i>pāu</i> ,
„	<i>pralāpaḥ</i>	>	„	<i>palāo</i> .

It is curious to note here that the elision of intervocal *ṭ* is not corroborated by any Prakrit text. This has been added, it seems to me, in order to maintain the parity of the five vargas (like *ku-cu-ṭu-tu-pu*).

- viii) Intervocalic *d* is elided if *t* preceeds (28); e.g. *tadā* > *taā*, *tā*; *tadiya* > *taiaṃ*, *tīam*.
- ix) Intervocalic—*t* > *d* (5); e.g., *patitam* > *paḍidam*.
- x) *r* > *t*, *ṇ* (26); e.g., *śrīrāmaḥ* > *siriṇāmo*; *puruṣottama* > *putusottimo*; *prakaraḥ* > *pakato*.
- xi) The aspirate *th* is often changed into *dh* and *h*; e.g. *th* > *dh*, e.g., *katham* > *kadham* (1 comm.), *th* > *h*, e.g., *pathikaḥ* > *pahio* (1 comm.).
- xii) Conjunct—They are treated like the following; e.g., *sthānam* > *thāṇam* (14); *kāṣṭham* > *kaṭṭham* (14); *candrikā* > *candiā* (1 comm); *prastāram* > *patthāram* (4), *vistaram* > *vittharam* (4), *udgama* > *uggama* (4), *bhramti* > *bhamai* (4), *nidrāti* > *niddai* (4), *śiṛṣam* > *sisam* (4), *kṣuṇṇam* > *khunṇam* (4), *lakṣmī* > *lacchi* (4), *tikṣṇam* > *tikkham* (29), *tigmam* > *tiggam* (29).
- xiii) *eka* is doubled as *ekka* (1 comm).
- xiv) *Svarabakti*—e.g., *śrī* > *siri* (27), *prīti* > *piriti* (27) *grīvā* > *girivā* (27).

xv) *Declensional endings.*

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Nom.	endings elided (2) u (11), o (13).	endings elided (2)
Acc.		
Ins.		bhīs>hīm (19) with e (20) before it.
Abl.	aim (21).	
Gen-Dat		nām>ṇām (22).
Loc.	mmi (24).	sum (25).
Voc.	e (13).	

xvi) Dative-Genitive singular of *asmad* is *majjha* (7).

xvii) Nominative and genitive singulars of *yusmad* are *tumha*, and *tujjha* (6).

Conjugation.

xviii) *Present Indicative.* The third person singular ending is *i* (with the elision of *t*) ; e.g. *bhavati*>*hoi* (18), *vadati*>*bhaṇai* (18) ; *karoti*>*kijjai* (17), *kuṇai* (17) ; *bhramati*>*bhamai* (15) ; *pekkhai* (32).

xix) *Verbal substitute.*

- kr*>*kijja*, *kuṇa* (17), *kijjai*, *kuṇai*.
- vad*>*bhaṇa* (18), *bhaṇai*.
- bhū*>*ho* (18), *hoi*.
- ā-lok*>*pekkha* (32), *pekkhai*.
- drś*>*pekkhi* (32), *drśtvā*>*pekkhiṭṭa*.

xx) *Gerund.* *tvā*>*ūṇa* (30), e.g., *kṛtvā*>*kaṭṭa*, *gatvā*>*gamiṭṭa*.

xxi) *Abstract suffix.* It is formed with *ttanām* (34), e.g., *devattām*, *devattanām*, *dariddattanām*.

xxii) *Indeclinables.* *iva*>*via* (10), *idānīm*>*iṇhim* (29 comm.)

xxiii) No dual number and middle passive (*ātmanepada*) are found in Prakrit (8).

xxiv) Genders are indiscriminately used (9), e.g., *kavvaṇi lakkhana-vihulā samkaradiṇṇā useva kathā*. So *pāua goḍi bhāsā yā hoi sā hoi uttviseso kavvo*.

xxv) *mahlā* is used in the sense of *yosī* (35).

CHAPTER NINE

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE WESTERN SCHOOL OF PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS¹

§89. The teaching of the Western school of Prakrit grammarians is based on the so-called sūtras of Vālmīki which were commented upon with their grammatical terminology by Trivikrama, Śiṃharāja, Lakṣmīdhara, Appayyadiṣita, Bālasarasvati and others in their respective treatises. Hemacandra, of course, had followed their teachings, but with a different terminology and composed separate sūtras for his grammar. The question on the authenticity of the so-called Vālmīki-sūtras has not yet been settled. A.N. Upadhye² has concluded by saying that these so-called sūtras of Vālmīki are really the sūtras of Trivikrama with a vṛtti on them also written by him. Nitti-Dolci³ also holds the same opinion so far as the authorship of the so-called Vālmīki-sūtras is concerned, but opines that all the sūtras may not be attributed to Trivikrama. Whatever may be the conclusion, be the sūtras by Vālmīki or by Trivikrama, it is pretty certain that these sūtras will be put into the western school. In the absence of any conclusive evidence, we may brush aside the authorship of the so-called sūtras attributed to Vālmīki (*Vālmīkir mūlasūtrakṛt*), but that does not alter in any case the assumption of Grierson that these sūtras belong to the western school.

1. A Hindi version of this was published in *Anekānta*, Vīr Sevā Mandir, Delhi, 1966, pp. 175-180.

2. *Vālmīki-sūtra: A Myth*; B.V. (Vol-II, Part 2), 1941, pp. 160-72; cf. also his another article in which he holds the same opinion, vide, *Once Again, Vālmīki-sūtra—A Myth*, B.V. (Vol-XV, Part 3), 1956, pp. 28-31. Upadhye has discussed the problem fully and has proved how worthless the theory is. Among other scholars who deal with the subject are Hultsch, K. P. Trivedi, T. K. Laddu, Nitti-Dolci and the editor of the *Prākṛta-Maṇi-dīpa*.

3. *Les. Gram. Pkts*, pp. 179ff.

§90. Besides this much vexed problem, the earliest reference to a Prakrit grammarian belonging to the western school is Namisādhu, a Jaina like Hemacandra. Chronologically he is earlier than Hemacandra, as his commentary on Rūdraṭa's *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra*¹ was composed in the year 1069 A.D. according to the date given in the concluding verse of his commentary.² We do not know any Prakrit grammar written by him; but while commenting on Rūdraṭa's *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra* II.12, he has given, in a nutshell, the characteristic features of Prakrit, particularly of Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, Paisāci and Apabhraṃśa.³ The sūtras as quoted or given by him have a striking resemblance to those of Hemacandra.⁴ From these sūtras it seems to us that Namisādhu might have followed some earlier tradition current in the western India.

§91. After him comes Hemacandra⁵ (1088-1172 A.D.), the most important grammarian of the western school, who has elaborately written his Prakrit grammar in 1119 sūtras as a continuation of his Sanskrit grammar. His grammar, called *Siddha-Hema-Śabdānuśāsanam*⁶ composed at the request of the king Siddharāja (hence dedicated to him), is divided into eight chapters—the last being devoted to Prakrit. Each chapter is again sub-divided into four *pādas*. He has used the same scheme and technique for the eighth chapter as are found in the first seven chapters of his Sanskrit grammar. The first

1. The *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra* of Rūdraṭa with the commentary of Namisādhu, ed. by Durgaprasād and Pansikar, *Kāvyaṃālā* 2, 3rd edn. Bombay, 1928.

2. *Pāñcaviṃśati-saṃyuktair ekādaśasamāśataiḥ (=1125) vikramāt samatīkrāntaiḥ pravṛtsidam samatīkṛtam* [Saṃvat 1125=1069 A.D.].

3. Nitti-Dolci has given the text in Roman script with a French translation from *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra*, vide, *Les. Gram. Pkts.*, pp. 158-65.

4. For this vide also, Dolci, *Ibid*, pp. 165-69.

5. For his life etc. vide G. Bühler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra*, Vienna, 1889, translated by Manilal Patel from the original German as *The life of Hemacandra*, S. J. S. (No. 11) Śāntiniketana, 1936.

6. Hemacandra himself wrote two commentaries for his grammar *Bṛhatī* and *Laghuvṛtti* (called *prakāśikā*).

pāda of his Prakrit grammar¹ containing 271 sūtras deals with the treatment of vowels and consonants ; while the second consisting of 218 sūtras has sundry contents, such as, the treatment of conjunct consonants (1-124), Prakrit substitute for some Sanskrit words (125-144), some suffixes (145-173), the *Deśi* words (174) and the indeclinables (175-218). These two chapters are practically devoted to Phonetics. The third *pāda* contains the rules on Morphology and to some extent on Syntax ; i.e. it deals with the rules of declension (1-129), rules of syntax (130-137), conjugation and participles (138-182) ; and the fourth *pāda* gives the *Dhātuvādesas* (1-259), and the dialects, such as, Śaurasenī (260-286), Māgadhi (287-302), Paisāci (303-324), Cūlikā-paisāci (325-328) and Apabhramśa (329-448). He uses 'ārṣa' for Ardhamāgadhi. He has systematically and methodically arranged the subject-matter with his own *vṛtti* without mentioning his predecessors whose works were utilised by him. Of the commentaries two are important : the *Vyutpattidīpikā*² of Udayasubhāgyagāṇidī designated as *Haima-prākṛtavṛtti-ḍhūṇḍhikā* is confined to the etymological explanations of individual words on the basis of Hemacandra's rules, and the other is *Prākṛtaprabodha* of Nara-(Narendra)-candrasūri.³

1. His Prakrit grammar is edited by R. Pischel, Hemacandra's. *Grammatik Der Prakrit Sprachen (Siddhahemacandram Adhyaya VIII)* I. Theil (Text und wortverzeichnis), Halle, 1877 and II. Theil (übersetzung und Erläuterungen) Halle, a.s., 1880 (in Roman script) ; ed. S. P. Pandit, as an Appendix to his edition of *Kumārāpālacarita* in B. S. P. S. LX, Bombay, 1900 ; ed. P. L. Vaidya, in Devanāgarī script with Hemacandra's own commentary *Prakāśikā*, 1st ed. Poona, 1928, 2nd ed. (revised), 1936 (appendix to *Kumārāpālacarita* ed. by S. P. Pandit, B. S. P. S. No. LX) now available as a separate book.

2. Pischel, *Gram. Pkt. Sp.* §29.

3. Peterson's *First Report* (1883), pp. 54, 127, No. 300, "The author was a pupil of Maladhārī, and wrote in Sāṃvat 1645=1589 A. D." In Aufrecht, 1.360, the author is said to be Naracandra. In Bhandarkar's *A Catalogue of the collections of manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College, Bombay*, 1888, p. 328, No. 300, he is called as Narendra-candrasūri.

The language described by him in the first three chapters and the first 259 sūtras of the fourth is practically Mahārāṣṭrī, but nowhere he mentions the name of the language excepting Prākṛta as in *atha prākṛtam* (8.1.1), *śeṣam prākṛtavat* (8.4.286) etc. Pischel¹ is of opinion that Hemacandra also mentions Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī and occasionally even Jaina-Śaurasenī without differentiating strictly between these two dialects everywhere. For *deśī* vocables his *Deśināmamālā*² divided into alphabetically arranged eight vargas can also be mentioned. Linguistically Hemacandra³ is the most authoritative and almost earliest representative of the western school. We do not know any direct follower of Hemacandra, although later Prakrit grammarians of this school are more or less indebted to him. Siṃhadevagani, a Jaina commentator of *Vāgbhaṭa-lankāra*⁴ of Vāgbhaṭa I (probably lived in the first half of the 12th century) while commenting on II.2-3 gives a few rules of Prakrit, particularly of Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paiśāci and Apabhraṃśa, with illustrations. In describing those dialects he has undoubtedly, it seems to us, consulted Hemacandra's sūtras even following the order in which he has written them. Nothing worth mentioning is, therefore, noticed in his commentary.

1. *Ibid.* §36.

2. Ed. R. Pischel, the *Deśināmamālā* of Hemacandra, Part I (Text and critical notes), Bombay, 1880; 2nd ed. by P. V. Rāmānujasvāmī with introduction, critical notes and glossary, Poona, 1938; ed. M. D. Banerjee, Calcutta, 1931; ed. Becharadasji Jain with a Gujarati translation cf. also P. L. Vaidya, *Observations on Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā*, ABORI (VIII), 1926-27, pp. 63-71; A. N. Upadhye, *Kenares words in Deśī Lexicons*, ABORI (XII), 1931-32, pp. 274-84.

3. For this aspect, vide, C. Lessen, *Institutiones* etc. pp. 9ff. R. Pischel, *De Gram. Pkts.* p. 17, *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §36, Nitti-Dolci, *Les. Gram. Pkts.* pp. 147-77.

4. The *Vāgbhaṭalankāra* of Vāgbhaṭa with the commentary of Siṃhadevagani, ed. Kedarānāth Śāstrī and V. L. S. Panasikar, *Kāvya-mālā*, 48, Bombay, 3rd ed. 1916.

§92. Trivikrama¹ (?1236-1300 A.D.), son of Mallinātha and grandson of Ādityavarman, has composed his Prakrit grammar with different sūtras which are attributed to Vālmīki (but Upadhye has proved the worthlessness of this theory). He has, in fact, followed Hemacandra, and, therefore, discussed the characteristics of principal Prakrit (i.e. Mahārāṣṭrī, though not mentioned by name) and its dialects—Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, Paisāci, Cūlikā-paisāci and Apabhraṃśa. But like Hemacandra he has not mentioned 'Ārṣa' or Ardhamāgadhi. In Apabhraṃśa he has added nothing new, excepting, perhaps, the Sanskrit *chāyā*. In fact, he has copied all the illustrations from Hemacandra with a few omissions. He has followed his own terminology, like, *ha* for *hrasva*, *di* for *dirgha*, *sa* for *samāsa*, *ga* for *gaṇapara*, *tu* for *vikalpa* etc. His work, *Prākṛtaśabdānuśāsana*, containing 1036 sūtras² is divided into three *adhyāyas*, each of which is again sub-divided into four *pādas*. Trivikrama under "*ṣeṣaṃ saṃskṛtavat*" (3.4.71) calls his work as *dvādaśapadī*. Trivikrama's contribution to the field of Prakrit studies is his *Deśi*-words which he gives in six groups like "*vā puāyyādyāḥ*" (1.2.109), *goṇādyāḥ* (1.3.105), *gahīādyāḥ* (1.4.121), *varaittagāstrīnādyaiḥ* (2.1.30), *apunnagāḥ ktena* (3.1.132) and *jhādagāstu deśyāḥ siddhāḥ* (3.4.72) instead of Hemacandra's one sūtra *goṇādayaḥ* (8.2.174) and an entire

1. R. Pischel, *De. Gram. Pkts.* p. 27, *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §38 ; T. K. Laddu, *Prolegomena zu Trivikrama Prakrit Grammatik*, Halle, 1912, translated into English by P. V. Rāmānujasvāmī, ABORI (X), 1930, pp. 177-218 ; Bhaṭṭanāthaswāmī, *Trivikrama and his followers*, IA (XL), pp. 219-23 ; A. N. Upadhye, *A Note on Trivikrama's Date*, ABORI (XIII), 1932-33, pp. 171-72. Upadhye wants to say that Trivikrama has written his grammar after 1236 A. D. and P. L. Vaidya in the later half of the 13th century ; Nitti-Dolci, *Les. Gram. Pkts.* pp. 179-98.

2. Trivikrama's *Sūtrapāṭha* (metrical) published by Bhaṭṭanāthaswāmī, pp. 1-28, no date. Ed. Jagannatha Śāstrī, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, Sarhvat 2007 ; ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Jaina Saṃskṛti Saṃrakṣaka Saṃgha, Sholapur, 1954 (latest critical edition).

3. According to the edition of P. L. Vaidya the number of his sūtras is 1036 ; but Upadhye in his article *Śubhacandra and his Prakrit grammar* (ABORI, XIII) mentions the number as 1085.

work *Deśināmamālā*. Besides some common vocables found in Hemacandra, Trivikrama has added many more new words from contemporary sources later than Hemacandra. Here it is to be noted that a worthless selection from Trivikrama's grammar is Narasiṃha's *Prākṛtaśabdapradīpikā*,¹ the beginning of which has been published in the Granthapradarśini Series No. 3 and 4.

§93. The sūtras as found in Trivikrama's grammar are commented upon by Siṃharāja, Lakṣmīdhara, Appayyadikṣita, Bālasarasvatī and others. Of them, Siṃharāja (1300-1400 A.D.)² has dealt with only 575 sūtras and Lakṣmīdhara (1475-1525 A.D.) 994. But Appayyadikṣita (1553-1626 A.D.) has covered almost all the sūtras. The text of Bālasarasvatī (17th-18th centuries A.D.) has not yet been published. It is true that Siṃharāja, son of Samudravandhayejan, drew materials from Trivikrama, but he has nothing in common besides the rules themselves. For all practical purposes he divides his Prakrit grammar³ into (1) *Samjñā-vibhāga*, (2) *Paribhāṣā-vibhāga*, (2) *Samhitā-vibhāga*, (4) *Subanta-vibhāga*, (5) *Tiṅānta-vibhāga* and (6) *Śaurasenya-divibhāga*. From this classification it seems to us that he had in his mind the arrangement of *Kaumudī* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. His commentary is also helpful to the students of Prakrit. Siṃharāja's "*Prākṛtarūpāvatāra* is not unimportant", says Pischel, "for the knowledge of the declension and conjugation, chiefly because Siṃharāja frequently quotes more forms than Hemacandra and Trivikrama. No doubt many of these forms are theoretically inferred; but they are formed strictly according to the rules and so are not without interest."⁴

1. Pischel, *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §41.

2. The dates are approximate, vide P. L. Vaidya's edition of Trivikrama's grammar, intro. p. xxvi.

3. *Prākṛtarūpāvatāra* (A Prakrit Grammar based on the *Valmīkisūtra*) of Siṃharāja, ed. E. Hultzsch, Royal Asiatic Society's Prize Publication Fund Vol-I, London, 1909.

4. Translated by Hultzsch, *Ibid*, p. 1, from Pischel's *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §39. This is nothing but a short summary of what he says in his *De Gram. Pkts.* pp. 39-43.

§94. Similarly, the *Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā* of Lakṣmīdhara¹ is a Prakṛt grammar with a commentary on the sūtrās of Trivikrama. He maintains the same order as found in Trivikrama. His grammar is important in the sense that he has added some new forms available after Trivikrama and Simharāja.

§95. The *Prākṛta-maṇidīpa* (or *dīpikā*) of Appayyadikṣita² is also a commentary on Trivikrama. Besides his own commentary and a few Prakrit forms available in later times, he has added nothing new to it. He mentions Trivikrama, Hemacandra, Lakṣmīdhara, Bhoja, Puṣpavanānātha, Vararuci, a *Vārtikāṇṇavabhāṣya* and also Appayajvan as his authorities.

§96. A few years ago V. Krishṇamācārya³, informed us that Bālasarasvatī, a resident of the village Eḍappalli, had written his Prakrit grammar entitled *Ṣaḍbhāṣāvivarāṇa* following the Prakrit sūtras of Vālmīki and the commentary of Trivikrama whom he mentioned in the introductory verses⁴. The text of Bālasarasvatī has not yet been brought to light, but a paper manuscript in Devanāgarī character containing 146 pages is preserved in the Adyar Library. Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* has not mentioned this work. The real name of the author is Veṅkatakṛṣṇa Kavi, son of Kṛṣṇadeva and grandson of Dhairana. He is adorned with the titles Bālasarasvatī and Vāganuśāsana. He is a Telugu poet and writes many original and commentatorial works. His *Ṣaḍbhāṣāvivarāṇa* is divided into various chapters; such as, *Samjñāprakarāṇa*, *Sandhiprakaraṇa*, *Subantā-dhikāra*, *Taddhitaparakriyā* and

1. Ed. K. P. Trivedi, B. S. P. S. No. Lxxl, Bombay, 1916.

2. Ed. T. T. Śrinivāsagopālcārya with editor's own commentary called *Prākṛtamaṇidīpadīdhiti*, Oriental Research Institute Publications, Sanskrit Series No. 92, Mysore, 1954 (1953 ?).

3. All my information is based on his manuscript Notes, published in *Brahmavidyā* (The Adyar Library Bulletin) Vol-XXVI, Parts 1-2, May, 1962, pp. 98-100.

4. *Vālmīkiṃ sūtrakāraṃ ca vṛttikāraṃ Trivikramam/ vandāmahe mahācāryān Hemacandrādīkān api|| Ibid. p. 99.*

Tihanta-prakarana. He has added a new chapter called *bhāṣā-viniyoga*, in addition to Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, Paisāci, Cūlikā-pisāci and Apabhraṃśa. Besides these, nothing can be said till the work is published.

§97. Like Trivikrama, Śubhacandra, belonging to Nandisaṃgha, a sub-section of Mūlasaṃgha and Balātkāragaṇa and the last member of the race—the predecessors being Kunda-kunda, Padmanandin, Sakalakīrti, Bhuvanakīrti, Jñānabhūṣaṇa and Vijayakīrti,—writes his Prakrit grammar *Śabdacintāmaṇi*¹ with his own *vṛtti* which is divided into three chapters, each of which is again sub-divided into four *pādas*. It consists of 1224 sūtras as against 1036 (Upadhye gives 1085) of Trivikrama. The Prakrit dialects as treated by him are Mahārāṣṭrī (998 sūtras), Śaurasenī (26 sūtras), Māgadhi (18 sūtras), Paisāci (21 sūtras), Cūlikā-paisāci (4 sūtras) and Apabhraṃśa (157 sūtras). His section on Apabhraṃśa is very poor. Śubhacandra has composed the sūtras as well as the commentary on them with a different terminology. Although he does not mention any one of his predecessors, he says that in composing his grammar he has duly consulted many Prakrit grammars (*śubhacandra munīndrena lakṣaṇābdehim vigāhya vai prākṛtalakṣaṇam cakre.....// Praśasti*). A closer and critical analysis of the grammar of Śubhacandra will reveal the fact that there is a striking similarity of his grammar with that of Hemacandra and Trivikrama.² In fact, he truly follows Hemacandra in the matter of composing sūtras (some of which

1. A. D. F. Hoernle, IA (II), 1873, p. 29. Here he published a query to know whether any other manuscript existed anywhere. He had only two chapters of his grammar in his name. Lastly, A. N. Upadhye has presented us almost all sorts of available information about him. Vide, *Śubhacandra and his Prakrit Grammar*, ABORI, XIII, 1931-32, pp. 37-58. Upadhye has only edited the text on Śaurasenī (Appendix A, pp. 54-57) together with the colophon and *Praśasti* (Appendix B). My information is chiefly based on him.

2. For a comparison of their grammars, vide, Laddu's *Introduction to Trivikramam* etc. trans. into English, ABORI, X, p. 206; Upadhye, *Ibid.*, p. 50ff.

are common) and *vṛttis*, while he closely follows the order of Trivikrama's *sūtrapāṭha*. Truly speaking, he has mechanically followed them, and as such he has added very little to the advancement of Prakrit studies. A. N. Upadhye¹ has tried to prove that the literary activities of Śubhacandra extended over a period of forty years beginning before 1551 A.D.—the year in which he completed his *Pāṇḍavapurāṇa*.

§98. Śrutasāgara's *Audāryacintāmaṇi*,² another Prakrit grammar belonging to this group, has six chapters and S. P. Raṅganāthasvāmin believes that Śrutasāgara's work will be more extensive and explanatory than those of Hemacandra and Trivikrama. He has not used any special technical terms for his grammar like others. His work is quite independent from others ; but from a careful perusal of his sūtras, it will be evident that he is nearer to Hemacandra and is influenced by Trivikrama. R. G. Bhandarkar³ refers to his literary activities to about the year 1494 A.D. ; and Peterson⁴ and following him Vidyābhūṣaṇa⁵ have adopted the same view.

§99. From the analysis of the contents of the grammatical texts belonging to the western school, it has become clear that they all treat six principal Prakrits, such as, Mahārāṣṭrī (though not mentioned by name), Śaurasenī, Māgadhi, Paisāci, Cūlikā-paisāci and Apabhraṃśa. The contributions of the subsequent authors lie mainly in their collections of *Deśi* vocables and a few new forms gathered from their experience or from literature. Besides these, all are practically the same ; only the two authors—Hemacandra and Trivikrama—can claim something original.

1. *Ibid*, pp. 43ff.

2. R. L. Mitra, Proc. ASB, 1875, p. 77. *Notices of Skt. Mss.* (III), p. 19. Ed. Bhaṭṭanāthasvāmin (pp. 29-44), no date ; S. P. V. Ranganathasvāmi, *Literary Wealth of India, Search for Prakrit Manuscripts*, Śrutasāgara—*Audāryacintāmaṇi* Reprint from the Dawn Magazine, Vizagapatam, 1910.

3. *Report on Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* 1883-84.

4. Report IV, p. cxxiii.

5. *A History of Indian Logic* by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇ, Calcutta, 1921, p. 215.

CHAPTER TEN

EASTERN PRAKRIT LITERATURE

§100. Besides the grammatical texts of the eastern school mentioned above, some of the eastern texts have also been consulted to see whether the eastern linguistic features as embalmed and treasured up in the works of eastern Prakrit grammarians are reflected in them. Among the few important, extant, literary works belonging to the eastern region (i.e. Magadhān area¹), mention may be made of "*Caryāpadas*"² which include *Caryācaryavinīścaya*, *Dākārṇavatāntra* and the *Dohākoṣas* of Kāṇha and Saraha. All these works were generally composed by the 10th or at the latest by the 12th century A.D.. Sahidullah wants to place them in the 700 A.D.,

1. The Magadhān area generally comprises the speeches of the "*prācya-bhūkhanda*" which include Ardhamāgadhi and Māgadhi Prakrits. Ardhamāgadhi is the source of Kosali (or Eastern Hindi) which includes Āwadhi, Bāgheli, Chattisgarhi or Mahākosali; while the Māgadhi or the Magadhān speeches can be classified into the three groups—(a) Eastern Magadhān, with Bengali, Assamese and Oriyā; (b) Central Magadhān, with Maithili and Magahi; and lastly, (c) Western Magadhān, with Bhojpuri including Nāgpuriā or Sadanī. The present representatives of Māgadhi Apabhraṃśa are, therefore, Bengali, Assamese, Oriyā, Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri. I have only included the earliest literature written in old Bengali and Maithili.

2. Ed. by H. P. Śāstrī, *Hājār bacharer purāṇa Bāṅgālā bhāṣay Bauddha gān O dōhā*, Calcutta, 1st 1324 B. S. latest ed. 1366 B. S. (1959 A. D.); P. C. Bagchi, *Dohākoṣa*, JDL, XXVIII, Calcutta, 1935, *Materials for a critical edition of the old Bengali Caryāpada* (A comparative study of the text and the Tibetan translation) Part I, JDL, XXX, Calcutta, 1938; M. Sahidullah, *Buddhist Mystic Songs*, Dacca, 1942; M. M. Vasu, *Caryāpada*, Calcutta, 1943; Sukumar Sen, *Index Verborum of the old Bengali Caryā songs and fragments*, IL, IX, 1947, Calcutta,; *Old Bengali Texts or Caryāḡitikoṣa*, IL, X, Calcutta, 1948; *Caryāḡitipadāvalī*, Vardhamāna Sāhitya Sabhā, Burdwan, 1956. For linguistic analysis, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, QDBL, Calcutta, 1926.

while S. K. Chatterjee prefers to place in the 12th century A.D.. Without going into details about this much vexed problem, it is better to take 700-1200 A.D. as the period of these texts. Linguistically the most important is the *Uktivyakti Prakraṇa*¹, a work which deals with Sanskrit composition with parallel illustrations in old Kosali of the twelfth century. *Prākṛta-piṅgala*² about whose place of origin scholars differ in their opinion is another text written in the 14th-15th centuries A.D.. As the linguistic peculiarities of this text have some affinity with the eastern Apabhraṃsa, I have consulted it here. The *Varṇaratnākara*³ of Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākura of the 1st quarter of the 14th century A.D. which is a sort of lexicon of Maithili and Sanskrit words, is among others. Next may be mentioned the *Kīrtilatā*⁴ of Vidyāpati Ṭhākura of the 15th century A.D. (claimed by the two states—Mithilā and Bengal—as a native son). Lastly, the Prakrit passages of the Bengal Recension of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*⁴ has also

1. Edited for the first time from the single available manuscript by Acharya Jina Vijaya Muni with an exhaustive linguistic study of old Kosali by Suniti Kumar Chatterjee together with an essay on material of social and historical interest by Moti Chanda, Singhi Jain Series, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953.

2. Ed. Śivadatta and Parab, Kāvya-mālā Series, No. 41 Bombay; ed. C. M. Ghosh, BI, Calcutta, 1902; ed. Bholāshaṅkar Vyās, Part I (A Text on Prakrit and Apabhraṃsa Metre), PTS Series No. 2, Vārāṇasi, 1959 and Part II (Philological and Metrical Study), PTS. Series No. 4, Vārāṇasi, 1962.

3. Ed. with English and Maithili introduction and Index Verborum by Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Babua Miśra, BI, Calcutta, 1940.

4. Ed. H. P. Śāstrī, Hṛṣīkeśa series No. 9, 1331 B. S. 2nd revised edn. by Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Anil Kumar Kanjilal in *Haraprasāda racanāvalī* (Vol-II) Calcutta, 1366 B. S.; ed. Baburam Saksena, Nāgīpracaṛiṇī Sabhā, Kāśhī, 1957 A. D.

5. Ed. Premchand Tarkavāgiśa, Gaudīya recension, 1st ed. 1837, Calcutta, Śvara Chandra Vidyāśagara, Calcutta, 1st ed. 1890; ed. R. Pischel, Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*, an ancient drama, critically edited in the original Sanskrit and Prakrit of the Bengal Recension. 1st ed. Kiel, 1877; 2nd ed. H. O. S. XVI, 1922. As Pischel has corrected many Prakrit passages with the aid of Hemacandra, I have relied mainly upon the former editions.

been duly consulted. The works which were composed after 1600 A.D. have generally been excluded from my consideration, as they followed more or less the rules of the eastern Prakrit grammarians.¹ I have consulted these works while discussing the following chapters on linguistics only to show that some of the linguistic traits of the eastern Prakrit grammarians have been preserved in the literatures of the eastern school.

1. For example, it may be mentioned that the *Vaiṛāgyasāra* of Śuprabhācārya, written in Apabhraṃśa, contains 77 stanzas in Dohā metre. The Apabhraṃśa as found there seems to belong to the eastern school represented by Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya. It is dated Śaṃvat 1827. vide P. D. Gune, ABORI, VIII, 1927, pp. 272-280.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SOME LINGUISTIC DISTINCTIONS OF THE EASTERN SCHOOL

I. Preliminary Remarks about Terminology

§101. Having described briefly the analytical contents of the extant Prakrit grammars, an attempt has been made here to discuss some salient points of linguistic differences as noted by these two groups of Prakrit grammarians in their respective treatises. The purpose of the present analysis is to show how the grammarians of the two schools preserved some linguistic variations which have a historical bearing. As said above (§1), these two schools differ widely in the selection of their grammatical terminology. For example, in the texts of Trivikrama, Siṃharāja, Lakṣmīdhara, Appayyadīkṣita and others the same terminology is used : *ha* for *hrasva* (a short vowel), *di* for *dīrgha* (a long vowel), *su* for *śa*, *ṣa* and *sa* (sibilants), *sa* for *samāsa* (a compound word), *khu* for *ādi* (the first letter of a word), *ga* for *gaṇapara* (the first word of a *gaṇa*), *phu* for *dvitīya* (the second letter of a word), *stu* for *smṛyukta* (a consonant cluster), *tu* for *vikalpa* (an optional rule). Besides these, some technical terms (*anubandhas*) are also employed by them : *liṭ* is used to indicate an affix which is added invariably ; *ṣit* is used in order to denote an affix which lengthens the preceding vowel ; *ñit* indicates nasals (*anunāsika*) ; and *rit* is used to double the consonant. In the same manner some nominal *pratyayas*, such as, *sus* for nominative, *as* for accusative, *tas* for instrumental, *nes* for dative, *ṇasis* for ablative, *nam* for genitive and *nlp* for locative—are also used. Hemacandra, of course, has employed different terminology for his Sanskrit grammar and these are also found in his *Prākṛita-pāda*. But these nomenclatures are not found in the grammars of the eastern school—these are altogether omitted from their

considerations. Instead of their shorter forms they have used the names for which they stand. It is also to be noted here that there are some differences between them in a class of words termed as *ākṛtiḡaṇa*, although in a majority of cases both the schools follow the same *gaṇas*; e.g. Hemacandra's *svapnādi*, *sadādi*, *kṛpādi*, *utkhātādi* etc. are not found in the others. In the dhātvaśeṣas the differences in a class of words are still more marked. Besides these the easterners describe a number of dialects and sub-dialects which are altogether omitted from their considerations by the westerners. Moreover, the differences in the allotment of Prakrit speeches in a Sanskrit drama are also noticed between them.¹ It is thus seen that so far as the outward structures of their texts are concerned these two lines of teachers are distinct from each other. If their texts are critically analysed it will be seen further that linguistically also these two groups of grammarians differ in some salient points. Some of these linguistic traits peculiar to the eastern school are noted below.

II. Phonological Peculiarities²

- (i) *On the quantity of vowels: "hrasvaḥ saṁyoge" not found in Vararuci.*

§102. As regards the change in the quantity of vowels³ before a conjunct-consonant by the aphorism "*hrasvaḥ saṁyoge*" (Hc. 1.84), the easterners have not made any categorical statement on the subject. Hemacandra almost definitely

1. Vide, P. L. Vaidya, *On the use of Prakrit dialects in Sanskrit Dramas*, ABORI, XXXIII, 1952, p. 22 "The views expressed here and the classification of Prakrit dialects there (i.e. *Saḍbhāṣacandrikā*) belong to the western school of Grammarians, and do not agree with the views of Bharata."

2. Some of the points of this section were originally published in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Philological Society*, Vol. VI, 1967, pp. 116—129. This is a revised version of the previous article.

3. Lassen, *Institutiones*, pp. 41-49; Cowell, Appendix D to his edition of *Prākṛtprakāśa*, 1868; Pischel, *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §§79-100.

expresses himself that 'a long vowel is shortened before a conjunct-consonant (Hc. 1.84), or, wherever a *y*, *r*, *v*, *ś*, *ṣ*, or *s* is elided, which precedes or follows an, *ś* *ṣ* or *s*, the preceding vowel is lengthened (Hc. 1.43), or the doubling previously enjoyed is forbidden after a long vowel or an anusvāra (cf. Vara. II. 56), whether these have been introduced by previous rules (*lākṣaṇika*), or are the original letters of the word (*alākṣaṇika*, Hc. 2.92)'. Hemacandra is followed by Trivikrama (1.2.8) and others. But Vararuci is absolutely silent about it. Cowell informs us that the manuscript W has a spurious sūtra, *saṁyogapūrvo hrasvaḥ*, but this has not been recognised by Vasantarāja in his commentary, even in explaining such a change as that of *āścarya* to *acchera*. Kramadiśvara simply remarks that *ā*, *i* and *ū* sometimes become short (1.14) and also admits that if the consonant is elided the *a*, *i* and *u* may be lengthened (*dīrgaḥ*) *ūd-īd-ūl-lupta-vyañjane* (2.145). Later authors like Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya do not formulate any rule like Hemacandra that Prakrit does not allow any long vowel before a conjunct-consonant, but like Kramadiśvara they have also noticed that long vowels become short in some words classed as *ākṛtigāṇa*. For example, when *ā* > *a* optionally, words are classed under *yathādi-gāṇa* by Vararuci (1.10), Kramadiśvara (1.9), Mārkaṇḍeya (1.13), Rāmaśarmā (1.6); but Hemacandra (1.67) and Trivikrama (1.2.37) divide them into two groups—adverbs in general (*avyaya*) and the *utkhātādi-gāṇa*. The words with *i* shortening to *ī* are grouped under *pāṇiyādi-class* by Vararuci (1.18) and Hemacandra (1.101), while Kramadiśvara groups them into two categories: words in the *pāṇiyādi-group* (1.11) require shortening of *i* compulsory and those of the *garbhītādi-class* (1.12) are optional. Mārkaṇḍeya (1.21) follows Kramadiśvara, but with a different terminology as *gṛhītādi-class*. The grammarians have not formulated any *gāṇa* for the words with long *ū*. The easterners are not keen enough to state categorically that the long vowels become short before consonant-clusters, while Hemacandra makes this change as of a sweeping nature without any dialectal variation. It is

only for this reason that we find long vowels even before a conjunct-consonant in the manuscripts belonging to the eastern region. Hemacandra himself notes this phenomenon in his Prakrit grammar :

“*kecid brāhmaṇa-pūrvāṇṇayor apicchanti/bamhaṇo bāmhaṇo/ puvvaṇho puvvāṇho/davaggī dāv(ā)ggī// etc. (under vāvayot-khātādāvadātaḥ 1.67).*”

It is, therefore, seen that Vararuci is silent on it, for which Cowell¹ interrogates—“Are we therefore to interpret the silence of Vararuci as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prakrit, and only became fully recognised in later times ?” Cowell's statement is to a certain extent borne out by the inscriptions of Aśoka²—where we find that Hemacandra is followed in the western region and perhaps, Vararuci in the eastern portion.

(ii) *Treatment of ṛ.*

§103. With regard to the treatment of *ṛ* the grammarians do not mention anything specifically. But from their texts, it could be surmised that there was a dialectal distinction in the treatment of *ṛ*. The grammarians consider the change of *ṛ > a* as usual, while that into *i* or *u* under *gaṇas* ; and a statistical account will show that the change of *ṛ > i* or *ri*, is in a majority of cases in the non-western region. This has led the modern scholars such as, R. Pischel,³ J. Bloch,⁴ Suniti Kumar Chatterji⁵ and Sukumar Sen⁶ to believe that the change of *ṛ > a* is predominant in the west and the south, because “the tendency of Indo-Iranian *ṛ* to become *a* (through *ar*, *ra*) is its

1. *Prākṛtaprakāśa* p. 186.

2. M.A. Mehendale, *Aśoka's Inscriptions in India*, The University of Bombay, 1948, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*, Poona, 1948.

3. *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §§49-51.

4. *La Formation d'la langue Marathe*, p. 31.

5. ODBL, §173, p. 354.

6. *A Comp. Gram. MIA.* §40

oldest development (cf. RV. *kaṭa-*, *vikāṭa-*; Skt. *vaṭa-*, *ṇaṭa-*, *bhaṭa-*, etc.). And the development of $r > i$ is mostly noticed in other regions. "This distinction finds an exact reflection in the Aś. inscriptions in as much as the $r > a$ treatment is the principal one in the western and the $r > i$ treatment in the non-western regions."¹ When we come to Apabhraṃśa this distinction is also noticed. Tagare² has shown statistically that "in the earlier Apabhraṃśa works initial $r > i$ was the characteristic of eastern Apabhraṃśa and it went on increasing in western Apabhraṃśa. Initial $r > a$ was less in vogue in eastern Apabhraṃśa than it was in western Apabhraṃśa, although it was decreasing in both. Medial $r > i$ was the general rule in western and eastern Apabhraṃśa."

(iii) *Treatment of cerebral n and dental n.*

§104. On the matter of cerebral *n* and dental *n*, these two schools also differ in their discussions. So far as the principal Prakrit (i.e. Mahārāṣṭri) is concerned, Hemacandra (I.288-89) allows single *n* medially; but he has made an option with regard to the initial and conjunct. But the eastern grammarians make the change of $n > ṇ$ compulsory. According to Bharata and Vararuci (II. 42) the dental *n* of Sanskrit words will be changed into cerebral *n*—be it initial, medial or conjunct. Rāmaśarmā (I. 2. 14) and Mārkaṇḍeya (II. 41-43) allow cerebral *n* everywhere, although Mārkaṇḍeya is aware of the option for the initial and double. Kramadīśvara (2. 106) advocates that *n* should be written everywhere, but in 2. 107 he states that initially dental *n* may also sometimes occur. It is seen that Prakrit grammarians of the eastern school are almost unanimous with regard to the change of dental *n* into cerebral *n*. But divergent views between Hemacandra and Trivikrama

1. Mehendale's Aśoka Insc. p. 54. Truman Michelson, *Interrelation of the Dialects of the Fourteen Rock Edicts*, JAOS, 1909, pp. 77 ff.

2. G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, Poona 1948, p. 24. cf. V. Bhattacharya, *Ṛ-kāra-tattva*, VSPDP, 1324, B.S. pp. 183-85.

are noticed with regard to the cerebral *ṇ* in Deśī-words or roots. Hemacandra holds the view¹ that there cannot be dental *n*, either initial or medial in Deśī words and his rule *vāḍau* (1.229) refers only to such Prakrit words as are derived from Sanskrit and not to Deśī words. But Trivikrama, on the other hand, believes that initial dental *n* might occur in Deśī words ; e.g. *nirappai* (2.4.127) as a *dhātvād.śa*, but adds “*ṇaive ṇirappi*”. Deśī-vocables, as collected by the easterners, are almost unanimous, if there is no manuscript corruption or scribal error. They usually write *ṇaṃ* for *nanu*, *ṇūṇam* for *nūnam* and also *ṇa* for *na*. Like westerners they do not make any rule for this—*ṇa* is used in all dialects. But “the conventions of modern critical editors”, says A. N. Upadhye,² “are nearly settled. In Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī texts *n* is initially preserved (*ṇaṃ* excepted), medially it is *ṇ*, and in a conjunct usually *nn* (and sometimes *ṇṇ*) ; in Jaina-Śaurasenī, Mahārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī texts it is necessarily cerebral *ṇ* everywhere” ; and to these we may add Māgadhī, Paisāci and Apabhraṃśa, according to the conventions of the easterners. P. L. Vaidya³ also instructs us that if the text comes from a non-Jaina source, it should be moulded according to the rules given by Vararuci, (Kramadīśvara), Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgiśa and Mārkaṇḍeya. This shows that they all want to draw a line of demarcation between the two schools, so far as the treatment of dental *n* and cerebral *ṇ* is concerned.

(iv) *Change of t > d in Mahārāṣṭrī in some words—not sanctioned by Hemacandra.*

§105. In the accounts of Mahārāṣṭrī *t* where some sort of agreement might be expected, there are differences between the

1. Vide *Deśināmamālā-nakārādayastu deśyām asambhāvina eveti na nibadhāḥ. yacca “vāḍau”* (1. 229) iti sūtritām asmābhis tatsaṃskṛtabhava-prākṛta-śabdāpekṣayā na deśyāpekṣayeti sarvaṃ avadātām. p. 208, BBS edn.

2. Intro. p. 9 to his edition of *Lilāval*, 1949, cf. also Pischel, *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §§224, 282.

3. Trivikrama's *Pkt. Gram.* Intro., p. xxff.

two schools. For instance, Vararuci has laid down one rule by which *t* is changed into *d* in a group of words even in Mahārāṣṭri :

ṛtvādiṣu to daḥ. II. 7. ṛtvityevamādiṣu takārasy dakāro bhavati. udū/raadam/āado/nibbudī/etc.

This rule has been truly followed by Kramadīśvara (*ṛtvādes to daḥ* II. 28), by Rāmaśarmā (*daḥ syāt kirātādiṣu tasya* . I.2.5) and by Mārkaṇḍeya (*ṛtvādes to daḥ syāt* II. 7). But Hemacandra denies the correctness of this rule. In his opinion this characteristic feature is peculiar to Śaurasenī and Māgadhi and not to Prakrit (i.e. Mahārāṣṭri) :

“atra kecit ṛtvādiṣu da ityārabdhavantah sa tu Śaurasenī-Māgadhi-viśaya eva dṛśate iti nocyate”. under *rudite dinā ṇṇah*. I. 209.

Here by “*atra kecit*” he surely refers to Vararuci.

(v) *Treatment of labial b and semi-vowel v.*

§106. So far as the two sounds—labial *b* and semivowel *v*¹ are concerned, we face a somewhat different view. According to the western Prakrit grammarian Hemacandra (I. 237)—(a) original initial *b* remains unchanged in Prakrit, as Skt. *balam* > Pkt. *balam* ; while original intervocalic *b* becomes *v* (*bo vaḥ*. 1. 237) ; as *alābū* > *alāvū* > *lāu* ; *sabala* > *savala* > *sayala* ; (b) initial *v* remains unchanged, while intervocalic (I. 177) *v* is generally elided ; and (c) initial *p* remains unchanged while intervocalic *p* generally becomes *v* (*po vaḥ*. 1. 231), or *b* in Apabhraṃśa (*anāḍau svarād asaṃyuktānām k-kh-t-th-p-phām g-gh-d-dh-b-bhāḥ*. 4. 396). The Prakrit intervocalic *v* in all these cases is itself frequently elided. Here it is a fact worth noting that in the modern Indo-Aryan Languages it is only in the west that this distinction still holds good at the present day.

§107. In the case of the eastern grammarians, the case is altogether different. There are wide and divergent views in

1. Though Grierson (JRAS (1925), p. 231-34), has dealt with this problem at length, some new materials have been incorporated into my discussion.

the treatment of these two sounds. In the modern Indo-Aryan languages of eastern India like Bengali and Oriya original *b* and *v* are not distinguished, both being pronounced as *b*. In the manuscripts the same character *b* (ब) corresponds to the Nāgari ब and व. Hence one faces an insurmountable difficulty in editing an eastern text written in Bengali or Oriya character. In editing Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*, Cowell encountered the same sort of difficulty; but he somehow got rid of that by following the method of Hemacandra. In his edition of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*,¹ he says—"I have also throughout followed the manuscripts in writing (ब) as the Prakrit equivalent for the Sanskrit *p*; in the continental editions of the plays it has been usual to write *b*, but for this there is no authority, as the manuscripts make no difference between the *v*=the Skt. *p*, and that=the Skt. *v*. The rules of Vararuci evidently show that there was no distinction whatsoever between *b* and *v*." He further adds²—"It is not so easy to determine which of the two sounds thus absorbed the other, and whether in translation we should represent it by *b* or *v* universally; the analogy of the modern languages would incline us to the former, but a sūtra in Hemacandra seems to favour the latter, which I have, therefore, adopted throughout". He has, therefore, printed semi-vowel *v* and has rejected *b* altogether in his edition of Vararuci's *Prākṛta-prakāśa*.

§108. When we come to Kramadīśvara, we find that no such distinction between a labial *b* and a semi-vowel *v* is maintained from the point of view of the construction of the sūtras. He simply states क्वा व (2.5); but what व he means to say is clear neither from the manuscripts nor from the other rules of the text. The twin sūtras of Hemacandra "*po vaḥ*" and "*bo vaḥ*" are not found in Kramadīśvara. So is the case with the other grammarians like Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya. Mārkaṇḍeya's text is written in Oriya character and hence we come across the same difficulty.

1. Intro. p. xiv, 2nd ed. 1868.

2. Ibid. p. xiv.

§109. Among the eastern grammarians it is only Rāmaśarmā who, in his *Prākṛta-kalpataru* (1.5.16), has thrown some lights on this point, and from him we come to know that the eastern grammarians do not allow semi-vowel *v* in their texts. Rāmaśarmā says—

ñamostu bindur hali no'pi ñasya (Grierson *krasya*)
vargottamā va yayi sambhavādaui

r̄ r̄, l̄ l̄ aicca ñanau yavau ca (Ghosh *na-au*)

*śaśau visargaśca na santyamuvyam!*¹

(cf. Vara. IV. 14, 17 ; Pu. IV. 2 ; Mk. IV. 23-24).

Here it should be noted that the word “*amuvyam*” in the last line is unintelligible ; yet it does not affect our result. The general meaning is according to Grierson² —1) “*Anusvāra* is substituted for *ñ, ñ, n* and *m*, when any of them is followed by a consonant ; but when it is followed by a class-consonant, (*pratyāhāra yay*) the corresponding class-nasal may optionally be substituted, as, in *sambhavādaui* etc. 2) The sounds like *r̄, r̄, l̄, l̄, ai* and *au, n* and *ñ, ya* and *ṛ, ś* and *ṣ*, and *visarga* do not occur in Pkt.”

§110. Now, what “*ब*” does the author mean by “*बो*” ? Is it labial or semi-vowel ? From the commentary on the third and fourth lines, it is clear that in “*बो*” the author wants to represent *b* and not *v*. The commentary runs as follows : “*r̄-r̄-l̄-l̄-aicām visargasya sarvatrāprayogaḥ ; śaśāñām svātantryeṇa, samyogādaui syād eva*” i.e. *r̄, r̄, l̄, l̄, ai, au* and *visarga* are now-here used. The remainder, *ñ* and *n, y* and *ṛ, ś* and *ṣ* are not used when standing alone. They are used only in conjuncts and the like.

1. I have taken this verse from Grierson's article *Prakritika*, pp. 215-36, published in JRAS, 1925. The edition prepared by M. Ghosh and published from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1954, contains this verse with a different reading. In the footnote he has not mentioned Grierson either. But the verse of Grierson contains an interesting phenomenon concerning this problem, while Society's edition fails to supply that material. Hence Grierson's reading has been adopted here.

2. JRAS, 1925, p. 252.

§111. Now, "it will be observed", says Grierson, "that the above consonants are all quoted in groups of two each. We have two nasals (\tilde{n} and n) and two sibilants ($\$$ and $\$$). It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that, in the same way, y and v form a group of two semi-vowels, and that v , therefore, represents v , not b ".¹ Now, from it we come to know that according to Rāmaśarmā—the letter v , when standing alone, does not occur in Prakrit and so when the letter v occurs in Prakrit, it will generally mean only b . Similarly, according to him, when intervocalic Sanskrit p becomes v in Prakrit, this represents b and not v .²

§112. It is generally surmised that the eastern grammarians allow the existence of the conjunct vv in Prakrit as in the above case. But this is not true. Grierson³ is of opinion that the Sanskrit conjunct-consonant (such as, dv , vy , or rv), whenever changed into Prakrit, passes through two stages. In the first place it becomes $\$$; and then this $\$$ stands by itself, and therefore, cannot be v , and then comes to the second stage, saying that when one member of a conjunct has been elided, what remains is doubled. It is, therefore, this b (and not v), which is doubled.

§113. So in conclusion, we can say that the western grammarians admit the existence of b and v , while the easterners admit only b . This is perfectly in consonance with the development of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars in the western and eastern regions of India. We may add only this much that the existence of semi-vowel v may be expected only there where it is a case of *samprasāraṇa* (i.e. v becoming u), and that is not even shown in writing. It may be presumed that the original Sanskrit v may be retained when it becomes a case of *samprasāraṇa* in Prakrit.

§114. It will not be out of place here, if I mention the different readings in the Prakrit passages of the editions of

1. Grierson, JRAS, 1925, p. 233.

2. cf. Pischel, *Gram. Pkt. Spr.*, §199.

3. JRAS, 1925, p. 234.

Śakuntalā, as prepared by Monier-Williams and Richard Pischel, so far as this point is concerned. Monier-Williams prepared the Devanāgarī Recension of the Text—the manuscripts of which are found in the upper Provinces of India ; while Pischel collated the text from the Bengali manuscripts, called Bengali Recension. Monier-Williams' also "consulted the Bengali manuscripts, but rarely admitted readings from them, unless supported by some one of the Devanāgarī". Pischel also consulted the Devanāgarī manuscripts but he did not attach so much importance to them in place of the Bengali manuscripts. Moreover, regarding the three Indian editions (of which one is prepared by Prema Tarkavāgiśa), Pischel states that these are "based on manuscripts of doubtful value and are altogether uncritical ; and so he has hardly ever admitted a reading from them into it, unless it was supported by one of his manuscripts or at least by Śaṅkara." Pischel discarded the readings of Paṇḍit Prem Tarkavāgiśa ; but really speaking in the treatment of labial *b* and semi-vowel *v*, Prema Tarkavāgiśa followed the diction of the eastern grammarians, i.e. he uniformly preserved the labial *b* in the Prakrit passages instead of semi-vowel *v*. Pischel, a staunch votary of grammar, unnecessarily rectifies the labial *b* into semi-vowel *v* and corrects the whole Prakrit passage against the evidence of the manuscripts, but following the rules of the western grammarians particularly of Hemacandra. He says that the grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the manuscripts ; but the manuscripts are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. But it can be added here that the peculiar characteristics of an eastern Prakrit, supported by the eastern grammarians, should not be rectified with the evidence of the western grammar. So the Prakrit readings, in regard to labial *b*, cannot be summarily rejected. It should also be noted that the readings given by Monier-Williams seem to be based on an outlook of the historical background answering to the reliability of one or the other reading of the different

manuscripts, while it will appear as almost certain that the readings given by Pischel reveal a strong predilection for grammar.

(vi) *Treatment of kṣ in the eastern region.*

§115. The Sanskrit *kṣ* has two-fold development in Prakrit¹ —(k)kh and (c)ch. The grammarians regard the development *kṣ*>kh as regular (cf. Vr. III. 29 ; Ki. II. 88 ; Pu. III. 6 ; RT. I.3.3 ; Mk. III. 37). The western grammarian Hemacandra (II. 3) has also noted that. But when *kṣ*>cch, they have grouped them under *akṣyādi*-class. But it is generally seen that *kṣ* has become (k)kh in the dialects of the east and the Midland (cf. Skt. *vrkṣa*>*rukḥha* old Bengali *rukha*, Caryā 2.2.),² while the latter is developed mostly in the North-western and South-western areas. But they are mutually influenced by each other in subsequent times. And that is why in the eastern region we also notice the development of *kṣ*>cch, as, as, *lakṣaṇa*>*lacchana* *pakṣa*>*paccha*, *nakṣatra*>*nacchatra*, in the Prithirāja Rāsau. Similarly, *makṣikā*>*macchiū*>Beng. *māchi* The development of *kṣ*>kkh is not even absent in Panjābī Lahndī (i.e. North-western areas) and even in Mārāṭhī ; as, *makṣikā*>*makkhiā*>Mārāṭhī, *mūkhi*. G. V. Tagare³ has also statistically shown that “in eastern Apabhraṃśa OIA *kṣ*>kh and *kṣ*>kkh are the only treatments without exceptions. Western Apabhraṃśa was originally a *kṣ*>kh dialect. From 600 A.D. *kṣ*>ch forms began to appear in western Apabhraṃśa.After 1000 A.D. we find a greater number of *kṣ*>(c)ch forms in western Apabhraṃśa”.

(vii) *Ya-śruti.*

§116. Hemacandra, a grammarian belonging to the western school, in his Prakrit grammar (1. 180) has prescribed *ya-śruti*

1. Pischel, *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §317 ; J. Bloch, *Language Marathe*, §104 ; S. K. Chatterji, ODBL, §259, p. 469.

2. Vide my article—On the Etymology of Prakrit *rukḥha* and *vaccha* meaning tree, BPSC, II, 1962, pp. 13-16.

3. *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, p. 25 and 61. cf. also Mahendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrit*, §402.

after *a* and *ā*, but in his commentary under the same sūtra, he has further added that occasionally *ya-śruti* is noticed after *i* as well. When the medial single consonants—*k, g, c, j, t, d, p, y* and *v* (I. 177) are dropped leaving behind the accompanying vowel, the remaining *a* or *ā*, if preceded by *a* or *ā*, is pronounced like a lightly articulate *ya* (*laghu-prayatnatara-yakāra śrutir bhavati*). Thus

Skt. *nagara* > Pkt. *nayara* (<*naara*).
 „ *kācamāṇi* > Pkt. *kāyamaṇi* (<*kāamaṇi*).
 „ *pātāla* > Pkt. *pāyāla* (<*pāāla*).

Hemacandra strictly observes that this *ya-śruti* is possible only after *a* or *ā*, although in the *vṛtti* he mentions that it is also found after *i* (cf. *kvacid bhavati. piyāi*). Whether this phenomenon will be observed after any other vowel, is not clear from Hemacandra's sūtra. Caṇḍa (III. 35) also admits it in between *a* and *ā*.

§117. Coming to the eastern school, we find that Vararuci does not recognise it, so also his commentator Bhāmaha (II.2) ; but other commentators, such as, Vasantarāja and Sadānanda recognise it by quoting—*iṣatprṣṭaḥ prayojyo yaḥ kvacil lupteṣu kādīṣu*. Kramadīśvara (2. 1.) does not formulate any hard and fast rule on this point. In his opinion *ya-śruti* may optionally come after any vowel and in any dialect. Mārkaṇḍeya (II. 2) also does not make any provision for this, but he simply gives a quotation according to which the non-initial vowel *a* and *i* may sometimes be pronounced like *ya* : “*anādāv aditau varṇau paṭhitavyau yakāravat*” *iti Pāṭhaśikṣā* (II. 2). Other grammarians of this school do not say anything on the subject. Practically speaking, grammarians belonging to the eastern school do not advocate the rule of Hemacandra ; they follow a different method. In their opinion, the rules regarding the substitution of *ya* for *a* refer to pronunciation and not to writing. There are certain rules, though a few, which refer to the pronunciation of sounds. The rule relating to *ya-śruti* is one of them. It is, therefore, evident from the grammars of the eastern school that the proper way is to write *a* in all cases and leave

the reader to pronounce it according to his speech habit. A similar practice occurs with regard to the vowels *e* and *o*. It is admitted on all hands that Prakrits possess these vowels in the short and long forms. They are to be pronounced short when followed by a conjunct-consonant. But both the long and the short vowels are represented by the same character and the short vowels are only heard in pronunciation. In the same way, the vowel remaining after the elision of the consonants is always to be written as it is, but it has to be pronounced with *ya-śruti* when preceded by any long or short vowel. And that is why in the manuscripts of the eastern school, we do not find any *ya-śruti*, at least, in writing. So according to the eastern school, we could write *loassa* and *loyassa*; *dearo* and *deyaro*, but always as *loassa* and *dearo* according to the westerners.

§118. Linguistically *ya-śruti* is a natural phenomenon; and something like this is already noticed by Pāṇini (VIII. 3.18-19) and by the earlier Sanskrit phoneticians.¹ "From an etymological point of view", says Jacobi, "it is more self-consistent that *ya-śruti* should be written after all vowels, because it is the remnants of a lost consonant".² He comes to this conclusion, corroborated by the eastern grammarians, after scrutinising the Jaina manuscripts which are not always uniform so far as the use of *ya-śruti* is concerned. But Weber³ and Alsdorf⁴ consider it to be one of the exclusive characteristics of Jaina Prakrit. Pischel⁵ after much discussion has said that *ya* is the oldest characteristic of Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī and Jaina-Śauraseni and wrongly the Jains carry over this to other dialects also. A.N. Upadhye⁶ has

1. V. Bhattacharya, *Pāṇini's grammar and the influence of Prakrit on Sanskrit*, Grierson Commemoration Volume, Lahore, 1933, pp. 157-59.

2. *The Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 20-21.

3. *Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 397 ff.

4. *Der Kumārapāla-pratibodha*, Hamburg, 1999, p. 52.

5. *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §187. Hemacandra's *Gram.* (I. 180).

6. Intro. pp. 10-12 to his edition of *Lilāvai*, Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavana Bombay, 1949.

critically discussed the subject and has retained it in his edited texts in many cases because of 'editorial discipline'. The development of Middle-Indo-Aryan languages as well as the New Indo-Aryan vernaculars¹ shows clearly that the phenomenon *ya-śruti* is natural but the process of writing varies from school to school and from locality to locality. This may be found in all sorts of Prakrit dialects and after any vowel. Such is also the view of the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians as sponsored by Vararuci, Kramadīśvara, Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya.

(viii) *Pronunciation of Māgadhi Palatals.*

§119. With regard to the pronunciation of Māgadhi palatal sounds², Prakrit grammarians are not always unanimous. Western Prakrit grammarians—Hemacandra, Trivikrama and Sīmharāja—do not mention anything on the subject in their Prakrit grammars. Only the eastern grammarians have discussed something on the subject. On this point Vararuci mentions—

“*cavargasya spaṣṭatā tathoccāraṇaḥ* (XI. 5)

which Bhāmaha interprets as “*cavargo yathā spaṣṭastathoc-cāraṇo bhavati*” meaning thereby, that *c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh* and *ñ* are so pronounced as to be clear. Lassen³ has emended the reading of Vararuci and says that instead of *spaṣṭatā* we should read *aspaṣṭatā* ‘not clear’. “This sūtra of Vararuci is very unintelligible,” says Cowell, “as it stands in the manuscripts with *spaṣṭatā*, and Lassen’s conjecture of *aspaṣṭatā* does not seem satisfactory”. Cowell suggests *asprṣṭatā* and translates the sūtra thus: “The palatal letters are pronounced with but a very slight contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth”. “The *ābhyantara prayatna* or internal effort in the utterance of the palatals”, says Cowell, “is properly *sprṣṭa*, because

1. Grierson, *Introduction to Maithili*, Pt. I, §24. S. K. Chatterji. ODBL §170. ; Geiger, *Pali Lang. & Lit.* §36.

2. Grierson, JRAS, 1913, pp. 391-96 ; Hoernle, *Gd. Gr.* p. 8 ; Pischel, *Gram. Pkt. Spr.* §217.

3. *Institutiones* etc. p. 397.

the organs of utterance are in contact" ; but in that of the semi-vowels (of which *y* corresponds to the palatals) it is *īṣatsprṣṭa*, because here they but slightly touch", and in support of his statement he quotes *yapacavargayuktā manāg uccāryāḥ*" from the *Samkṣiptasūtra* and says that *asprṣṭa* properly refers to the vowels, but here it may perhaps mean simply '*īṣatsprṣṭa*'.

§120. Next comes Kramadīśvara, whose sūtra on this subject, is extremely obscure. His sūtra states that *y*, *p*, and *ca-varga* when forming part of a compound consonant, are lightly pronounced (*yapacavargayuktā manāg uccūryāḥ*). This reading of the text is very doubtful. The other reading "*śaṭacavargayuktā* etc." is also obscure. I suggest *yapara* instead of *yapa* meaning thereby that *ca-varga* is to be pronounced with *y* prefixed or suffixed to it¹. Puruṣottama is of opinion that the pronunciation of *ca-varga* is perfectly palatal (*cuḥ spaṣṭa-tālavyaḥ*. XII. 13). Rāmaśarmā states that "the semi-vowel *y*, and only that semi-vowel is prefixed to every letter of the *ca*-group, and also in the case of conjuncts (*cavargakāṇām upari prayojyo yukteṣu cāntaḥsthayakāra eva*. II. 2. 18). Mārkaṇḍeya also says that *y* is prefixed to *c* and *j*, as in *yciram*, *ycla* etc. (*cajayor upari yaḥ syāt*. XII. 21). Again Mārkaṇḍeya says (*ciṭṭhasya tu ścintāḥ*. XII. 32) that the Śābarī *ciṭṭhadi* (Skt. *tiṣṭhati*) becomes *ścintadi* in Mg. which again (*ścinto ycisa ityeke* XIII. 3) becomes *ycisadi* in Śākārī, a variety of Māgadhī. Again in the Vṛācaḍa Ap. spoken in Sindh (i.e. North-West) he tells us that *y* is prefixed to *c*, and *j*, as in *ycalai* (Skt. *calati*), *yjalai* (Skt. *jvalati*). Finally, in Śaurasenīpaśācīkī (XX. 4), which is a variety of the Kekaya-paśācīkī, of the extreme North-West, "*cavargasyo' pariṣṭād yaḥ*, i.e. *y* is prefixed to the letters of *ca-varga*, i.e. "only to *c*, *ch*, and *ñ*, as the language does not possess sonant mutes". Thus *ychale* for *chalam*, *paycche* for *pakṣam*. Thus far is the view of the eastern grammarians.

1. Vide my edition of Kramadīśvara's Prakrit Grammar, Sūtra No. V. 85.

§121. From the above discussions, it is evident that Prakrit grammarians, belonging to the eastern school, are not very clear on this point, though they have described the pronunciation of the palatal sounds. From Vararuci to Kramadīśvara (whatever may be the exact meaning of their sūtras), it is clear that the pronunciation of palatal sounds (i.e. *ca-varga*) in Māgadhi was quite different from that in Mahārāṣṭrī which is regarded as the standard Prakrit. Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya have clarified the point by employing *y* prefixed to it. They “considered that besides the standard Prakrit pronunciation of palatals, these letters had another sound” value, not only in Māgadhi, but also in the North-West and Midland dialects closely connected with it. He thus agreed with Vararuci and Kramadīśvara in this respect that in Prakrit the palatals had two sets of sounds—some dialects employing one and others the other. If that is true, that all the eastern Prakrit grammarians agree in accepting the two sets of palatal sounds, then what should be the true reading of the text of Vararuci and Kramadīśvara whose sūtras are terribly shrouded in darkness? So far as Vararuci’s sūtra (*ca-vargasya spaṣṭatā tathoccāraṇaḥ*) is concerned three alternatives have been suggested by different scholars: Ms. *spaṣṭatā*—Lassen suggests *aspaṣṭatā* ‘unclear’, but Cowell suggests ‘*asprṣṭatā*’, “with a very slight contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth”. He also intends to say that they but slightly touch “*iṣatsprṣṭatā*”. It seems to me probable that the manuscript reading ‘*spaṣṭatā*’ should be the correct reading of the text, as opposed to *aspaṣṭatā*, and we find this pronunciation in the standard Prakrit dialect.

§122. “It appears to me, therefore,” says Grierson, “that we can gather from the remarks of the Prakrit grammarians quoted that in the Standard Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit and in Śauraseni (which in this respect followed Mahārāṣṭrī) the palatals were probably pronounced as dento-palatals, as in Modern Mārāṭhi, but that in Māgadhi they were pronounced clearly as true palatals”.

§123. But the opinion of Grierson has been rectified to some extent by Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji.¹ He says that according to Vararuci the palatals in Māgadhi were pronounced distinctly and pronounced in full. "Apparently there was another pronunciation which could be 'characterised as *"aspaṣṭa"* or indistinct, and which evidently obtained in Śaurasenī and Mahārāṣṭrī and such an indistinct pronunciation could not mean a dental affricate one, as Grierson is inclined to think, but rather an elided pronunciation in Śaurasenī and Mahārāṣṭrī, as Basanta Kumar Chatterjee² has rightly contended".

II. Morphology

(i) *On the nature of case-terminations*

§124. The dialectal variations in the declension and the conjugational system of the literary Prakrit as recorded by the two schools are not many. Still a few peculiarities may be mentioned here in order to show the differences which are recorded by them. I have given here the case-terminations only without any example in comparison with Hemacandra—the most representative grammarian of the western school.

a-base Singular.

	Skt. endings	Western grammarian Hemacandra only	Eastern grammarians
Nom.	su	o (3.2)	o (Pu. 1.8 ; RT. I. 6.2 ; Mk. 5.1) elision (RT. I.6.2)
Acc.	am	m (3.5)	m (Pu. 5.3 ; RT. 1.6. 3 ; Mk. 5.4)

1. ODBL, §132, p. 246.

2. Ca-vargīya Varṇa-samūher Uccāraṇ, VSPdP, 1320. B. S., pp. 201-03.

	• Skt. endings	Western grammarian Hemacandra only	Eastern grammarians
Inst.	ṭā	eṇa (3.6.14)	elision (RT. 1.6.2) ; eṇa (Pu. 5.12 ; RT. 1.6.2-3 ; Mk. 5.5).
Abl.	ṇasi	tto, do, du, hi, hinto and elision (3.8)	du, do, hi (Pu. 5.5 ; RT. 1.6.3 ; Mk. 5.5). a (Pu. 5.13 ; Mk. 5.7).
Gen.	ṇas	ssa (3.10)	ssa (Pu. 5.14 ; RT. 1.6.4 ; Mk. 5.9).
Loc.	ṇi	e, mmi (3.11)	elision (RT. 1.6.2) e. (Pu. 5.14 ; RT. 1.6.2-3 ; Mk. 5.10) mmi (Pu. 5.14 ; RT. 1.6.4 ; Mk. 5.10).

Plural.

Nom.	jas	elision (3.4) lengthened (3.12)	elision (RT. 1.6.2 ; Mk. 5.3) iṃ (Pu. 5.9) a (Pu. 5.10)
Acc.	śas	elision (3.4) lengthened (3.12)	e (Pu. 5.11 ; RT. 1.6.2 ; Mk. 5.3) elision (RT. 1.6.2 ; Mk. 5.3)
Inst.	bhis	(e)hi, (e)hī, (e)hiṃ (3.7.15)	hiṃ (Pu. 5.4 ; RT. 1.6.3 ; Mk. 5.6).
Abl.	bhyas	tto, do, du, hi, hinto, suntto (3.9), sometimes with ā (3.13) and e (3.15) before hi, hinto and suntto.	elision (RT. 1.6.2) hinto, suntto (RT. 1.6.3 ; Mk. 5.8) with ā or e.
Gen.	ām	āṇa (3.6).	āṇa (RT. 1.6.4 ; Mk. 5.5) ṇaṃ (RT. 1.6.4 ; Mk. 5.5).
Loc.	sup	esu (3.15).	(e)su (Pu. 5.6.15 ; RT. 1.6.4) suṃ (Mk. 5.11)

From the table given above it is to be noted that the elision of case-terminations in the instrumental and locative singulars and that in nominative, accusative and ablative plurals are interesting and peculiar to the eastern school of Prakrit grammarians. Moreover, the ablative singular and plural terminations are not many as in Hemacandra. As there are minor variations in *i, u* and other bases between the two schools, I have not discussed them here.

(ii) *Prakrit Dhātuvādeśas.*

§125. Grierson¹ has carefully and critically noted that these two schools of Prakrit grammarians also differ widely in regard to the Dhātuvādeśas. He has given 1590 ādeśas² collected from Hemacandra, Vararuci, Kramadīśvara, Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya. Of these Hemacandra and Mārkaṇḍeya have given 1548 (Hc. for 930 and Mk. for 618). Hemacandra's 707 ādeśas are ignored by Mārkaṇḍeya, and Mārkaṇḍeya's 395 ādeśas are ignored by Hemacandra. Only 223 ādeśas are common to the two authorities. Of these, in 62 instances, these two grammarians differ in their Sanskrit equivalents. For example, Hemacandra says *jampai* as an equivalent to *kathayati*, while the easterners say *jalpati*; from *vikrīṇīte* Hemacandra gives *vikiṇai*, but the easterners give *vikkīṇai*; according to Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya *acchaī* is equivalent to *asti*, while according to Hemacandra to *āste*, and so on. Grierson has also noted specially the difference of the development of the root *sthā* in the eastern and western schools. "The easterners as a body agree among themselves in their selection of ādeśas and in their translations, and this they do whether they differ from Hemacandra or not". As Grierson has nicely given in a tabulated form the Prakrit

1. The *Prakrit-Dhātuvādeśas* etc.; *Hamm-gatau*, JRAS 1921, p. 77; The root *sthā* in Prakritica, JRAS, 1925, pp. 215-20.

2. The statistical accounts are from Grierson's *Prakrit-Dhātuvādeśas*.

verbal substitutes according to these two schools, I have refrained from repeating the same, but on the contrary, I have given some ādeśas from Puruṣottama's *Prākṛtānuśāsana* for this purpose. As all these ādeśas occur in the seventh chapter, I have in such cases given only the number of the sūtras. It is to be noted here that the work of Puruṣottama did not come to light, when Grierson wrote his Prakrit Dhātuvādeśas; and so it will be worth-while to record the verbal substitute as found in Puruṣottama's work. [Here "G" indicates that the verbal substitutes are also found in Grierson's 'The Prakrit Dhātuvādeśas'].

as (*asti*) > *accha* (3), *atthi* (4) [G]

kr > *kara*, *kuṇa* (5), *kā* (6) with *tvā*, *tum*, *tavya* and past and future tenses, *ka* (7) with *ta*. [G]

kri > *kiṇa*, with *vi* > *vikki* (14) [G]

gam > *gamma* (29) [G]

grah > *geṇha*, *hiṇṇa* (8), *ghettu* (9) with *tvā*, *gahi* (10) with *ta*, [G] *hiṇṇa* is also given by Rāmaśarmā and *hiṇḍa* by Mārkaṇḍeya. This root is not given by Hemacandra.

ci > *ciṇa* (13) [G]

dah > *dajjha* (28) [G]

dā > *de* (12) *diṇṇa* (32) in *ta*. [G]

duh > *dubbha* (30) [G]

dṛś > *peccha*, *pula*, *ṇia*, *niaccha*, *jova* (17) with causative *daṁsa* (18). [but *jova* is not given by G]

dhyai > *jhā*, *jhāya* (25) [G]

ni > *ṇe* (23) [G]

bhaṇa > *bhaṇṇa* (29) [G]. Hemacandra gives *bhaṇa*, while the easterners give *bhaṇṇa* in the active voice.

bhi > *bhā*, *biha* (15) [G].

bhuḥ (> *bhuṅkte*) > *bhoda* (31) in *tva*, *tum* and *tavya*. [G]

bhū > *ho*, *huva* (1) *hū* (2) (with *ta*) [G]

ram > *ramma* (29) Hemacandra gives *rama*, while Vararuci, Mārkaṇḍeya and Puruṣottama give *ramma* in the active voice.

lā>le (24) [G]

lih>libbha (30) [G]

vah>vabbha (30) [G]

veṣṭa>veḍha, vella with *sam* and *ud* (11) (G)

śru>suṇa (26), *suvvā* (27) in passive. [G]

sthā>ṭhā, ṭhāa (22) [G]

CHAPTER TWELVE

DIALECTAL DIFFERENCES¹

§126. It is said above (§§ 1-2) that these two schools also differ in the accounts of dialects ; and in this respect the want of agreement is still more marked. The easterners describe a number of dialects and sub-dialects which are altogether omitted from the consideration of the westerners. Vararuci mentions only the Mahārāṣṭrī, Paiśācī, Māgadhi and Śaurasenī dialects and to these Hemacandra adds Cūlikāpaisācī and Apabhraṃśa. He also mentions Ārṣa and Ardhamāgadhi. Trivikrama and others follow the classification of Hemacandra ; but they exclude Ārṣa or Ardhamāgadhi from their considerations. Of the eastern Prakrit grammarians, Bharata is the first man, so far as known to us, who mentions several other dialects (§ 13) by dividing them mainly into *bhāṣā* and *vibhāṣā* ; and *bhāṣā* includes not only Māgadhi, Śaurasenī and Ardhamāgadhi, but also Āvanti, Prācyā, Bāhlikī and Dākṣiṇātyā ; and *vibhāṣā* includes Śākārī, Ābhīrī, Cāṇḍalī, Śābarī, Drāviḍī, Auḍrī and the language of Foresters. But he has not given the characteristic features of these dialects. Kramadīśvara also next mentions several other sub-dialects, such as, Vrācaṭa, Nāgara, Upanāgara, Śrāvanti etc. besides the four principal Prakrits mentioned by Vararuci. He too has not dealt with the characteristics of these dialects. It is only when we come down to Puruṣottama that we find sundry Prakrit languages or dialects as opposed to the above six of Hemacandra. He divides Prakrit into four categories : Bhāṣā, Vibhāṣā, Apabhraṃśa and Paiśāca. Among the

39. This chapter is substantially based on my article—*Dialects and Sub-dialects of Prakrit*, published in the Śrī Kālugaṇī Felicitation Volume, Chappara, Rajasthan, 1977, pp. 33—68.

bhāṣās he includes Mahārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Āvanti and Māgadhi. To these Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya include three more dialects—Bāhlikī, Dākṣiṇātyā and Ardhamāgadhi; but they have not given any characteristic features of them, because they are the same with the other dialects: Bāhlikī with Āvanti, Ardhamāgadhi with Māgadhi and Dākṣiṇātyā is called when it is used in a poem 'sweeter in its essence than even nectar intermingled with words from the south influenced by Sanskrit and other languages'. Rāmaśarmā says-

*Dākṣiṇātya-pada-sambalitaṃ
yat saṃskṛtādibhir abhicchuritaṃ ca /
svādusāram amṛtād api kāvyam
Dākṣiṇātyam iti tat kathayanti || II.2 32.*

Markaṇḍeya in his commentary also defines the Dākṣiṇātya as follows :—

*Dākṣiṇātya-padāvalambī saṃskṛtāṅgaṃ vijrmbhitam /
Kāvyam piyūṣaṇiḥsyandi Dākṣiṇātyam itiritam ||*

XII. 38 Vṛtti.

Under the *vibhāṣās* he mentions Śākārī, Cāṇḍārī, Śābarī and Ṭakkī. He treats of the three principal Apabhraṃśas besides several others like, Pāñcālā, Vaidarbhi, Lāṭī etc. Of the many Paisācī dialects he enumerates the three: Kaikeya, Śaurasena and Pāñcālā. It is to be noted that Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya truly follow the classification of Puruṣottama with the exception that the former two enumerate many more sub-dialects than the latter. A few characteristics of some of these dialects and sub-dialects with their authorities are mentioned below. [It is to be noted here that as some of the eastern grammarians, such as, Kramadīśvara and Puruṣottama have not given any example of these dialects in their texts, I have not given any example particularly in the treatment of Māgadhi dialect].

1. *The Māgadhi dialect as described by the easterners.*

§127. The characteristics of Māgadhi as collected from

the texts of the eastern grammarians along with Hemacandra are given below :

- i. *ś* is substituted for *ṣ* and *s* (Vr. XI.3 ; Kr.V.86 ; Pu.XII.2-3 ; RT.II.2.13 ; Mk.XII.2 ; Hc.IV.288).
- ii. The change of *ṣ* to *n*. (Śiṃha. Vāgbha. 2.2).
- iii. *ś* is substituted for the first letter in the combinations *tt*, *tth*, *ṭṭ*, *ṭṭh* and *cch* (RT.II.2.16 ; Mk. 12.17).
- iv. *t* becomes *dha* in the word *vasati* (Mk. 12.6).
- v. *kkh* (<*kṣ*) becomes *śka* except in the word *kkhu* (Pu. XII.6-7 ; RT.II.2.15 ; Mk. XII, 4-5).
- vi. *r* becomes *l* (Kr. V.87 ; Pu. XII.4 ; RT. II.2.14 ; Mk. XII.3 ; Hc.IV.288 and Śiṃha-Vāgbha).
- vii. *y* is substituted for *j* (Vr.XI.4 ; Kr.V.90 ; RT. II.2.14 ; Hc.IV.293). But Puruṣottam says that *j* and *jh* are respectively substituted by *y* and *yh* (Pu. XII.5).
- viii. *ccha*, except when initial, becomes *śca*. (Pu. XII.11 ; RT.II.2.18 ; Hc. IV.295).
- ix. The palatal sounds are pronounced with but a very slight contact of the tongue with the roof of the mouth. (Vr. XI.5 ; Kr. V.88 ; Pu. XII.13-14 ; RT. II.2.18 and Mk. XII.21 (*y* is prefixed to *c* and *j*)).
- x. *h* is substituted for *dh*. The commentary adds "when not initial" and says that *tha* is sometimes changed to *h*. (Pu. XII. 12 ; Mk. XII.9).
- xi. Before the suffix *ka* the vowel is optionally lengthened (Pu. XII. 17 ; RT.II.2.2 ; Mk. XII. 22).
- xii. *sk* is substituted for *kṣ* (Vr. XI.8 ; Pu. XII. 8 ; Hc. IV.29).
- xiii. *ś* and *ṣ* in consonant groups becomes *s*, except in the word *grīṣma* (Hc. IV.289).
- xiv. *kṣa*, when not initial, becomes Jihvāmūliya plus *k* (Hc. IV.296).
- xv. *stha* and *rtha* become *sta* (Hc. IV.291).
- xvi. *ṭṭa* and *ṣṭha* become *ṣṭa* (Hc. IV.290).
- xvii. *nya*, *ṇya*, *jña* and *ñja* become *ñña* (Hc. IV.293).
- xviii. *yy* is substituted for *ry* and *rj* (Vr. XI.7).

- xix. Śaurasenī *tt* and *ṭṭ* are changed to *śt* and *ṣṭ* respectively (Pu. XII.10).
- xx. The Śaurasenī conjuncts *ttḥ* and *ṭṭḥ* are changed to *śt(h)* and *ṣṭ* respectively (Pu. XII.9).
- xxi. The nominative singular of nouns in *a*-stems ends in *i*, *e*, or *a* (Vr. XI.10 ; Pu. XII. 25-26 ; RT.II.2.27 ; Mk. XII.26 ; Hc. IV.287 ; Siṃha-Vāgbha. II.2).
- xxii. The nominative singular of nouns in *ta* ends in *u*, *i*, *e*, or *a*. (Vr. XI.11).
- xxiii. The nominative plural ends in *āhu* or *ā* (Lassen, p. 393).
- xxiv. *ha* may optionally be substituted for the ending of the genitive singular, and before it the vowel is lengthened (Vr. XI.12 ; Kr. V.94 ; Pu. XII.27-28 ; Mk. XII.29 ; Hc. IV.299-300).
- xxv. The vocative singular of nouns in *a* ends in *ā* (Vr. XI. 13 ; Kr. V.95 ; Pu. XII. 29-30 ; Mk. XII. 27-28).
- xxvi. Case-endings are often dropped or interchanged (Pu. XII.26 ; Mk. XII.35).
- xxvii. *hake*, *hage*, and *ahake* are substituted for *aham* (Vr. XI.9 ; Kr. V.97 ; Pu. XII.31 ; RT.II.2.12, 28). Mk. XII.30 ; Hc. IV.301 ; Siṃha-Vāgbha. II.2).
- xxviii. The nominative plural of the second personal pronoun is *tupphe* or *tumhe* (RT.II.2.28).
- xxix. *tumham* and *tumhe* are used for *yuṣmān* (Pu. XII. Mk. XII.31).
- xxx. *bhaviadi* and *bhuviadi* are used for *bhaviṣyati* (Pu. XII. 35 ; Mk. XII.33).
- xxxi. *ściṇṭa* is used for *ciṭṭha* (Mk. XII. 32), and *yciṇṭa* by RT (II.2.28).
- xxxii. *ciṣṭha* is substituted for *ciṭṭha* (Vr. XI.14 ; Kr. V.95 ; Pu. XII.33 ; Hc. IV.298 ; Siṃha-Vāgbha II.2.).
- xxxiii. The root *kṣt* is changed into *kappa* (Pu. XII.36 ; RT.II.2.30).
- xxxiv. *ḍa* is substituted for *ta* in the past passive participles

- of *kr*, *mṛ* and *gam* (Vr. XI.15 ; Kr. V. 92 ; Pu. XII. 37-38 ; Mk. XII.34-35).
- xxxv. *dāṇi* is substituted for the gerund ending in *tvā* (Vr. XI.16 ; Kr. V.91 ; Pu. XII. 15-16 ; RT.II.2.20 ; Mk. XII.23).
- xxxvi. The personal endings of verbs have sometimes the final vowel lengthened. The commentary gives *ośaladhā* as an example (MK. XII. 37).
- xxxvii. *vaññadi* is substituted for *vrajati* (Hc. IV.294).
- xxxviii. *u* takes the place of *ava* and *apa* (Pu. XII.18 ; RT.II 2.22 ; Mk. XII.25).
- xxxix. *kva cid it*. The commentary says *ktvāsthāne syāt* and quotes from the sixth act of the Śakuntalā *paśumāli kaledi*. There seems to be some confusion here (Mk.XII.24).
- xl. *ladaṇa* is used for *ratna* (RT. II.2.23 ; Mk.XII.20).
- xli. *haḍakka* is substituted for *hṛdaya* (Vr.XI.6; Kr. V.89; Mk. XII.14) ; and also *hidakka* (RT.II.2.22).
- xl.ii. *śiāla*, *śiāle* or *śiālake* are substituted for *śṛgāla*. (Vr. XI. 17 ; Mk.XII.12).
- xl.iii. *vaśca* is used for *vṛkṣa* (Pu. XII.34 ; Mk.XII.19).
- xl.ii. *pivvava* is used for *piśācaka* (Mk. XII.18) ; also *piśallaa* (RT.II.2.23).
- xl. *gaṇṇā* is used for *gaṇanā* (Mk. XII.17) ; and also *likkhā* (RT. II.2.23).
- xlvi. *vaṭau va(ḍu)vvaah* (RT.II.2.23 ; Mk.XII.16)
- xl.ii. *macchikā* is used for *māṭṛ* (Mk.XII.15).
- xl.iii. *koṣaṇa* etc. is used for *koṣṇa* and other compounds of *uṣṇa* (RT. II.2.24 ; Mk. XII.13).
- xl. *vaamśa* is used for *vayasya* (RT.II.2.23 ; Mk.XII.11)
 - i. *gomika* is used for *gauravita* (RT.II.2.24 ; Mk.XII.10).
 - ii. *bu* of *bubhukṣā* is dropped (RT.II.2.23 ; Mk.XII.8).
 - iii. *lele* and *ale* are used to indicate *ākṣepa* (reproach) and *sambhāṣaṇa* (address). (Pu.XII.24 ; RT.II.2.28).
 - liii. *hi* is used to indicate *vismaya* (surprise), *upahāsa* (ridicule) and *kuśala* (happiness). (Pu.XII.23).

- liv. The words *koṣaṇa* etc. become *koṣiṇa* etc. (Pu.XII.22).
- lv. *puruṣa* becomes *puliṣa* (Pu.XII.21 ; RT.II.2.22).
- lvi. The word *vasāti* becomes *vasadhi* (Pu.XII.20).
- lvii. *ahuni* is used in the sense *adhunā* (Pu. XII.19 ; RT.II. 2.13).
- lviii. The word *tattha* (<*tatra*) becomes *taṣca* (RT.II.2.16).

II. The sub-dialects of Māgadhi

1. Śākārī

§128. The vibhāṣā known as Śākārī is a particular variety of Māgadhi. But when there is no special rule for this it is to be considered to be the same as Māgadhi (Pu. XIII. 1 ; RT. II.3.2 ; Mk. XIII.1). The Śākārī is the language of Śākāra who is described by Mārkaṇḍeya thus :

rājño'nūḍho bhrātā śyālastvaiśvarya-sampannaḥ |
mada-mṛkhatā' bhimānī śākāra iti duṣkulīnaḥ syāt ||

(Comm. under XII. 1)

“Possessed of pride, folly, and vanity, one of low family, raised (by the connexion) to power, the brother of the unmarried (concubine), and (in so far) the brother-in-law of a king, is called Śākāra”(JRAS, 1918, p. 499). The dialect of Śākāra (known as Śākārī) is devoid of good sense, disorderly, contradictory, full of repetitions and false similies, and opposed to propriety and good conduct (Pu. XIII.13 ; RT. II.3.9). It is described thus : “containing words with wrong meanings or with no meanings, tautological, with mangled similies or with similies that are no similies at all, contradictory, unocular evidence, convention etc., and in other respects unidiomatic is the speech of the Śākāra”(JRAS, 1918, p.503). The following characteristics are noted.

- i. The vowel before a conjunct-consonant is optionally regarded as long for metre's sake (Pu. XIII.12. ; RT.II. 3.8 ; Mk. XIII.9).
- ii. Sometimes there are elision, augmentation and substitution of letters (Pu. XIII.9 ; RT.II.3.2, 5-6 ; Mk.XIII.6).

- iii. *In the Sākāri dialect *y* is to be prefixed to the letters of *ca-varga* (Pu. XIII.14).
- iv. The pleonastic suffix *k* is often added to a word (Pu.XIII. 7 ; RT.II.3.5 ; Mk.III.5) e.g. *eśake dāsikāe puttake*.
- v. The conjunct *tth* is not changed, it may remain as it is (Pu. XIII.4 ; RT. II.3.4 ; Mk. XII.4) e. g. *yciñṭhāmi atthāṇagade kkhu hakke*.
- vi. The conjunct *kkh* is not changed (Mk. XIII.4). But in Māgadhi *ṣth > śk* (Mk. XII.7.4).
- vii. *kṣ* is optionally substituted by *kkh* in the words like *duṣprekṣa* and *sadrkṣa* (Pu.XIII.2). But Rāmaśarmā says that *śc* is optionally substituted for *ks* in the words *duṣpekṣa* and *sadrkṣa* (RT.II.3 2) e.g. *duppeśca ycaṇḍāla-śaliśca yciṇṭa*. On the other hand the regular form will be *śaliccha, duppeccha* (Mk. XIII.2).
- viii. *ṣṭa* is used in place of *ṣṭa* in the word *viṣṭara* (Pu.XIII.3).
- ix. *śiāla* is used for *śyāla* (Pu. XIII.5 ; RT.III.3.5)
- x. *hitaka* is optionally used for *hṛdaya* (Pu.XIII.6). But *haḍakka* is optionally used for the same according to Rāmaśarmā (RT.II.3.5).
- xi. Sometimes *yatra* becomes *yañṭha* and *tatra* becomes *tañṭha* (RT.II.3.4) e.g. *vaam śilam miśṣasi tañṭha dāva*.
- xii. *iva* is optionally substituted by *vva* (Pu.XIII.7) and also by *va* (RT.II.3.5).
- xiii. Sometimes the declensional terminations (such as *su* etc.) are elided (Pu.XIII.11 ; RT.II.3.7 ; Mk.XIII.8 ; cf. Mg.II.36)
- xiv. Often there is also a confusion of the vowels of declensional and conjugational terminations (Pu.XIII.10 ; RT.II.3.7, Mk.XIII.7).
 - a) Confusion of declensional terminations (Mk.XIII.7):—
e.g. *tumam* etc. (Acc. for locative)
hakke etc. (Inst. for Acc. or Loc.)
 - b) Confusion of conjugational terminations:—(Mk.XIII.7)
e.g. *se* etc. (3/pl. for 3/sg.)

tum etc. (1/sg. for 2/sg.)

hakka etc. (2/sg. for 1/sg.).

c) Confusion of gender :—

śavve etc. Masc. pl. for fem. pl.

ku Neut. sg. for fem. pl.

d) Pulling apart of vowels (i.e. diphthongs are separated into their components) :—

śailiṇī, Mg. *śeliṇī*, Skt. *svairiṇī*.

miaindo Skt. *mṛgendraḥ*.

aśchauhiṇī Skt. *akṣauhiṇī*.

xv. The nominative plural termination of a feminine pronoun is optionally *e*. (RT.II.3.7).

xvi. The Māgadhi *ściṇṭadi* (Skt. *tiṣṭhati*) should be *ciṣadi* in Śākāri (Mk.XIII.3).

2. Cāṇḍālī

§129. Cāṇḍālī is a corrupt form of the Māgadhi dialect (Pu.XIV.1). Truly speaking, Cāṇḍālī, a variety of vibhāṣā, is based on an admixture of Śaurasenī and Māgadhi (RT.II.3.10 ; Mk.XIV.1). In Cāṇḍālī sub-dialect many rustic or vulgar expressions are used (Pu.XIV.9 ; RT.II.3.13 ; Mk.XIV.9). The following are the characteristics of Cāṇḍālī.

- i. The intervocalic *t* is elided like Mahārāṣṭrī bearing its vowel behind (RT.II.3.15).
- ii. *va* is sometimes elided (Pu.XIV.6).
- iii. The conjunct *ṭṭa* is not changed, it remains in its original form (Pu.XIV.5).
- iv. The conjunct *ṭṭha* is not changed, e.g. *rama haṭṭha-tuṭṭha*. (RT.II.3.12 ; Mk.XIV.7).
- v. Nominative singular *su* of a-bases is substituted by *o* and *e* (Pu.XIV.2 ; Mk.XIV.3). According to Rāmaśarmā it should be in *u*, (RT.II.3.12) e.g. *peṣka utthie ycandu mahaṅgaṇammi*.
- vi. The termination of the nominative and accusative plural of feminine nouns is *e* ; (RT.II.3.11 ; Mk.XIV.2).

- e.g. *ye itthike tattha ycilam vasanti majjham pi tāṇam hariṇā lamantīm le lāhike peṣka kuḍaṅgaammi.*
- vii. Genitive singular (*ṇas*) is substituted by *ssa*. (Pu.XIV.3 ; RT.II.3.12 ; Mk.XIV.5) e.g. *puliṣassa atthe.*
- viii. Locative singular (*ṇi*) is substituted by *mmi*. (Pu.XIV.4 ; RT.II.3.13) e.g. *peṣka gharammi kaṇham.* Sometimes it ends in *e*, (Mk.XIV.6) e.g. *peṣka vaṇe vi edam.*
- ix. The termination of vocative is *o* and *ā* ; but they are used in two different senses.
- a) When used respectfully it always ends in *o* (Mk.XIV.2) e.g. *bhaṣṭako tuṃ mahāālaveṣi.*
- b) But when it is not used respectfully, it ends in *ā*, (RT.II.3.14) *kaha ettha yceḍā āṇeṣi me ayya vi na kkhu veḍham.*
- x. The nominative plural of pronouns, irrespective of masculine and feminine, ends in *e* (Mk.XIV.4).
- xi. Some pronominal substitutions (RT.II.3.15) e.g.
- tvadiya > tuhakelia,*
madiya > mahakelia,
ātmiya > appāṇaakelia.
- xii. The gerundial suffix *ktivā* is substituted by *ia*. (Pu.XIV.8 ; Mk.XIV.8).
- xiii. *va* is optionally used in place of *iva* (Pu.XIV.7 ; RT.II.3.13).
- xiv. The interjection *arū* is used in place of *are* (RT.II.3.15).

3. Śābarī

§130. The Śābarī vibhāṣā is another variety of Māgadhi (Pu.XV.1 ; RT.II.3.16). But Mārkaṇḍeya (Mk.XV.1-2) derives it from Cāṇḍālī as well as from Śauraseni and Māgadhi. (cf. NŚ.XVII. 53-64). It is said that this dialect is spoken by the charcoal-burners, by hunters and by those who make their livelihood by boats and by wood-cutting (RT.II.3.16). In this dialect the want of agreement between the former and the latter sentences is noticed. The peculiarities of this dialect are

to be gathered from the usages of the poets (RT.II.3.21) ; cf. Mk.XV.8). Deśi vocables are often used in Śābarī (Pu.XV.8 ; RT.II.3.20). The characteristics of Śābarī are noted below.

- i. In Śābarī *c* (or *r*) remains unchanged (Pu.XV.2).
- ii. *kkh* (<Skt. *kṣ*) is changed to *śc* (and not to *śk* as in Māgadhi). (Pu.XV.3 ; RT.II.3.17) e.g. *śāmi maham peścadi aṅgam aṅgam*. But in other Māgadhi words this change does not take place (RT.II.3.17) e.g. *maha daśkiṇe śe*.
- iii. The nominative singular (*su*) of a-bases, whether masculine or neuter, ends in *e* or *i* and also in *o* optionally (Pu.XV.5 ; Mk.XV.3).
- iv. The nominative singular termination *su* is optionally elided (Pu.XV.6 ; RT.II.3.20).
- v. The genitive suffix is *kelaka* as well as *keaka* (Mk.XV.7) e.g. *amha-keakam*, (or, *amha-kelakam*) *dhaṇam*.
- vi. *hiṃ* (also *i*, Mk.XV.6) may optionally be used in the locative singular (RT.II.3.18).
- vii. In order to indicate disrespect the particle *kā* (or *ā*) is used in the vocative (Pu.XV.7). But Rāmaśarmā (II.3.20) recognises only *ā* and Mārkaṇḍeya (XV.4) admits only *le* in the vocative and in the same sense.
- viii. In Śābarī *aham* is replaced by *hake* (Pu.XV.4 ; Mk.XV.5) and *ham* (Pu.XV.4) and *hagā* (RT.II.3.17) and also by *aham* (RT.II.3.17).
- ix. The word for coming is *ehi*, *eehi* and *ehahi* (RT.II.3.21)

4. Ṭākkī

§131. The Ṭākkī vibhāṣā is the language of Ṭakka deśa. It is based on an admixture of Sanskrit and Śauraseni (Pu.XVI.1 ; RT.II.3.28 ; Mk.XVI.1). Ṭākkī is spoken by gamblers (gamesters), merchants and other knaves. It is thus said—

prayujyate nāṭakāḍau dyūtādi-vyavahāribhiḥ /

vaṇigbhir hinadehaiśca tad āhuḥ Ṭakka-bhāṣitam // Mk.XVI,1.

i.e., "The speech of Ṭakka is that which is employed in plays and the like by professional gamblers and by merchants of lowly position", (JRAS, 1918, p. 510). It is to be noted that Ṭākki infected by Drāviḍa has no special characteristics (RT.II.3.27). For it is said—

*Ṭakkadeśīya-bhāṣāyām drśyate Drāviḍī tathā /
tatra cāyam viśeṣo'sti Drāviḍair ādr̥tāparam //*

Mk.XVI.2.

i.e. Drāviḍī is found in the language of the Ṭakka country. Its peculiarity as a language is that it is honoured by Drāviḍas. The grammarian Hariścandra intends to say that this Ṭakka-dialect is an Apabhraṃśa, because Apabhraṃśa is used by the poets (lit. skilled) in dramatic compositions (Mk.XVI.2). It is, therefore, not an ordinary Prakrit, says Puruṣottama (Pu.XVI.10). These are the characteristics of Ṭākki.

- i. The suffix *u* is profusely used in Ṭākki (Pu.XVI.2), but not always (Mk.XVI.3).
- ii. The instrumental singular termination of a-base is *em* optionally (Pu.XVI.3) but Mārkaṇḍeya (XVI.4) admits only *e*.
- iii. The dative, ablative and genitive plural terminations are *haṃ* and *huṃ* (Pu.XVI.4-5 ; Mk.XVI.5-6).
- iv. Even the pronominal terminations of ablative and genitive plural are also *haṃ* and *huṃ* optionally. In this case the penultimate is lengthened (Pu.XVI.6 ; Mk.XVI.7) e.g. *kahaṃ* (*keṣām*), *jahaṃ* (*yeṣām*), *tahaṃ* (*teṣām*), *edahaṃ* (*eteṣām*), *imahaṃ* (*eṣām*).
- v. The following pronominal substitutes are found—
tvam > *tuhuṃ* (Pu.XVI.7 and Mk.XVI.8 reads *tuṅga*).
aḥam > *hamam* and *hamuṃ* (Pu.XVI.7 ; *hammi*, *huṃ* (Mk.XVI.9).
muma > *mahuṃ* (Mk.XVI.10).

- vi. The substitute of—

yathā > *jidha* (Pu.XVI.8) and *jahā* (Mk.XVI.11-12)
tathā > *tidha* (Pu.XVI.8) and *tahā* (Mk.XVI.11-12)

- vii. The rest depend on usage (Pu.XVI.9 ; Mk.XVI.13).

5. *Auḍhri*

§132. *Auḍhri* is the same as *Śabārī*. It has become *Auḍhri* only when some local words of the Oḍhra country are added to it. (Mk.XV.9).

6. *Ābhiri*

§133. *Ābhiri* is the same as *Śabārī*. The only distinction is that the gerundive ends in *ia* or *ua* (Mk.XV.10) e.g. Skt. *gatvā* > *gaścia*, or *gadua* ; Skt. *paṭhitvā* > *paḍhia*, or *paḍhua*.

7. *Prācyā*.

§134. The *Prācyā*, a variety of *bhāṣā*, is derived from *Śaurasenī* for its basis (Pu.X.1.&14 ; RT.II.2.1 ; Mk. X.1). In this dialect proverbs, contradictory sentences and vulgar expressions are profusely used (Pu.X.13 ; RT.II.2.3). *Mārkaṇḍeya* (X.1) quotes a couplet :

pūrvāparahataṃ kvāpi kvacicchekoktisundaram/

grāmyābhyām upamoktibhyām yuktam vakti vidūṣakaḥ//

According to the canons of dramaturgy, the *Prācyā* dialect is to be spoken by the *Vidūṣaka* (jester) of the play. *Mārkaṇḍeya* quotes from *Bharata*—*prācyā vidūṣakādīnām* (NS.17.51). (RT. II.2.4 ; Mk. X.1). The characteristics of *Prācyā* are noted below.

- i. The nominative singular of the word *bhavat* is *bhavam*. (Pu.X.2 ; RT.II.2.1 ; Mk.X.4.comm).
- ii. The feminine of *bhavat* is *bhodī* (Pu.X.3 ; RT.II.2.1 ; Mk.X.4).
- iii. The vocative of a-bases in addressing a person of lower rank ends in *ā* (Pu.X.5 ; RT.II.2.2 ; Mk.X.8).
- iv. The neuter pronoun *idam* becomes *iṇaṃ* (Pu. X. 6 ; RT. II.2.4).

- v. The changes in the following words are noticed in Prācyā Skt. *mūrkhā* > *murakkha* (RT.II.2.2), *murukkha* (Mk.X.3), *duhitā* > *dhidā* (Pu.X.4 ; RT.II.2.2).
- vi. The future participle form of the root *bhū* is *hatthamāṇo* (Pu.X.9 ; RT.II.2.2) and *otthamāṇo* (Pu.X.9 ; RT.II.2.2) and *okkhamāṇo* (Mk.X.2).
- vii. The following is used in the sense noted below :
 - a) *hihibho* (in the sense of surprise) Mk.X.9.
 - b) *hīmāṇahe* (in the sense of surprise) Mk.X.11.
 - c) *avida avida* (as an expression of sorrow) Pu.X.12 ; Mk.X.12.
 - d) (*v*)*baṅkuda* (Pu.X.7) in the sense of crooked, *vaknu* (Mk.X.5), *vaṅkubha* (Mk.X.6) also *vahaṇa* (?) (Mk.X.7)
 - e) *avahada* (in the sense of *upakṛta*, favoured) (Pu.X.8.)
- viii. *eva* is substituted by *ppeva*, *cia* and *cea* (Pu.X.10) and *jjea*, *jjia* (Mk.X.10).
- ix. *āre* is used in the vocative and *upekṣā* (deplore) (Pu.X.11).
- x. The peculiarities of this dialect should generally be gathered from the usage of the people (Pu.X.13 ; RT.II.2.3 ;

8. Āvantī

§135. Puruṣottama derives Āvantī from an admixture of Mahārāṣṭri and Śaurasenī (Pu.XI.1). But according to Rāmaśarmā (II.2.5) the Āvantī and the Bāhlikī dialects are practically the same. The only difference is that they are used by different characters in a drama. Basically the forms of Bāhlikī are derived from an admixture of Śaurasenī and Prācyā (RT.II.2.5). But Mārkaṇḍeya (XI.1) follows the views of Puruṣottama when he says—“*Āvantī syān Mahārāṣṭri-Śaurasenyostu saṅkarāt*”. In his commentary he adds that the countries Mālava, Ujjayinī etc. constitute the Āvantīdeśa, and says—“*tad bhavā Āvantī Dāṇḍikādibhāṣā*”.

He quotes a verse from Bharata which is not found in the Nāṭyaśāstra :

*Dāṇḍika-pāṇika-pāṇṭika-nagarādhīpa-dāṇḍapāṇika sadṛkṣeṣu/
madhyama-pātresu sadā yojyāvanti tu nāṭyavidhau||*

For example :—“*esa kirādo maam anusaranto vedasa-
lā-gaṇaṇaṃ pāiṭṭho, atro kirādo vedasa iti Śauraseni.
anyāni padāni Mahārāṣṭri*. According to the canons of
dramaturgy the Āvanti is spoken by characters of medium
rank, a town mayor, a door-keeper and a knave, and also
by constables and merchants (RT.II.2.10). The charac-
teristics of Āvanti are noted below.

- i. The intervocal *t* and *d* are optionally elided leaving behind their accompanying vowel (Pu.XI.3 ; RT.II.2.6).
- ii. The word *sadṛkṣa* is replaced by *sariccha* (RT.II.2.6 Mk.XI.2).
- iii. The pronominal substitute for *tava* is *tuha* (text *tuddhu*, Pu.XI.10) and *mama* is *muha* (Pu.XI.10)
- iv. In Āvanti the active voice (parasmaipada) and middle voice (ātmanepada) are used side by side :—
bhaṇ>bhaṇṇai, bhaṇṇae (Mk.XI.11)
vṛdh>vaḍḍhai, vaḍḍhae (Mk.XI.11)
- v. Puruṣottama says that in the present and future tenses and in the imperative mood *jja* and *jjā* are used for conjugational suffixes (Pu.XI.4 ; RT.II.2.6 ; Mk.XI.4) e.g. *bhojja, bhojjā*.
- vi. The suffixes *jja* and *jjā* are also used between the verb and the conjugational suffix (Pu.XI.5 ; RT.II.2.6 ; Mk.XI.5) e.g. *dejjau, dejjāu*.
- vii. The following verbal substitutes are found—
a) Active—*bhū>ho*, (Pu.XI.8 ; RT.II.2.7 ; Mk.XI.6)
and also

hoi (Pu.XI.8).

dr̥ś>pekkha (RT.II.2.7)

peccha (Mk.XI.7).

dr̥ś (causal)>*darisa* (RT.II.2.7 ; (Mk.XI.8)

darasa (according to some, Mk.XI.8. comm.)

- b) Passive—*śru* > *suvva* (Pu. XI.6 ; RT. II.2.8 ;
Mk. XI.9).

ji > *jippa* (RT. II.2.8).

bhaṇ > *bhaṇṇa* (RT. II.2.8 ; Mk. XI.9).

gam > *gamma* (RT. II.2.8 ; Mk. XI.9).

kr > *kijja* (RT. II.2.8).

jñā > *muṇijja* (RT. II.2.8).

lih > *liija* (Mk. XI.9).

dru > *duvva* (Mk. XI.9).

darbh > *dubbha* (Mk. XI.9).

- viii. The following verbal substitutes are found in the future :

śru > *socchaṃ* (Pu. XI.7 ; RT. II.2.9 ; Mk. XI.10)

bru > *vocchaṃ* (Mk. XI.10)

ruc > *rocchaṃ* (Mk. XI.10)

- ix. In Āvantī the suffix *tvā* is *tūṇa* (RT. II.2.7 ; Mk. XI.3)
e.g. *laṅkaṃ gantūṇa sīā diṭṭhā*.

- x. The word *ccea* and *ccia* are used in the sense of *iva*.
(RT. II.2.6 ; Mk. XI.12).

9. Bāhlikī.

§136. Mārkaṇḍeya says that Bāhlikī is almost similar to Āvantī, the only difference being *ra* becoming *la* in it (Mk. XI.13) e.g. *salasi-luhaso-laha-ṇibbhalo mātudo vakai*. It is the language of *dhūrta* and others.

III. Apabhraṃśa and its varieties

1. Nāgaraka.

§137. Puruṣottama recognises three clear dialects of Apabhraṃśa, e.g. Nāgaraka, Vrāṇḍaka and Upanāgaraka, besides less remarkable local variants. Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya also follow him, but mention some other varieties without giving their characteristics. These are—Vrāṇḍa, Lāṭa, Vaidarbha, Upanāgara, Nāgara, Vārvara, Āvantya, Pāñcāla, Tākka,

Mālava, Kaikeya, Gauḍa, Auḍra, Daiva, Pāścātya, Pāṇḍya, Kauntala, Sīmhalā, Kālīṅga, Prācyā, Kārṇāṭa, Kāñca, Drāviḍa. Gaurjara, Ābhira, Madhyadeśiya and Vaiḍāla (= 27 in all). Kramadīśvara's Śrāvantī (or Śrāvastī) is not mentioned by any of them. He has given also twelve varieties of Apabhraṁśa which will be found in the classification of Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya. Of these Nāgara is regarded as the main dialect. The chief characteristics of Nāgara are given below.

- i. The following consonantal changes are noticed—
k > g ; *nāka > nāgu*,
kh > gh ; *sukha > sughu*,
t > d ; *patita > padida*,
th > dh ; *śoṭha > sodha*.
(Pu. XVII. 3, 13 ; RT. III.1.2 ; Mk. XVII.2).
- ii) *ṣk* and *sk > kk* ; *puṣkara > pukkara*, *maskara > makkara*.
(RT. III.1.3).
- iii) The suffixes *ḍā*, *ḍī*, *ulla*, *ulli* and *a* are added to the nōun and adjective stem. As, *hiaḍā*, *golaḍī* etc.
(Pu. XVII. 16-19 ; RT. III.1.6-7 ; Mk. XVII.5-8).
- iv) In all genders the declensional termination is elided, and the termination of the base is optionally lengthened. As, *aggi*, *aggī*, *vaṇaḍam*, *vaṇāḍam*.
(Pu. XVII.41 ; RT. III.1.8-9 ; Mk. XVII.10).
- v) The nominative singular may be in *o* ; as *narao*, *naro*.
(Pu. XVII.41).
- vi. *u* is added to *a* and *ā* bases ; as *kaṇhu*, *kilantu*, *mālāu*.
(Pu. XVII.42 ; RT. III.1.11 ; Mk. XVII.15-16).
- vii. In all genders instrumental singular termination is *e* ; as, *vaṇae*, *vahue*, *paṇālie* ; but in *i* and *u* bases it is *(e)ṇa*.
- viii. The ablative singular termination is *he* and *ho* ; as, *gharahe*, *gharaho*.
(Pu. XVII.43 ; RT. III.1.12 ; Mk. XVII.18-19).
- ix. The following substitutes are noticed—
stokam > thoḍam,
bhadram > bhallam,

- *tvadīyam* > *teram*, *toharam*,
ṁadīyam > *meram*, *moharam*,
kīḍṣī > *kehī*.

(Pu. XVII.30 ; RT. III.1.5).

- x. Some pronominal substitutes are—

yat > *jadru* (*ṁ*),

tat > *tadru* (*ṁ*);

idam > *imu*,

etad > *eha*, *e*.

(Pu. XVII.56-57 ; RT. III.1.20-21 ; Mk. XVII.34-38).

- xi. *yusmad* is declined as follows—

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	<i>tuham</i>	<i>tumbhaim</i>
Acc.	<i>pairm</i>	<i>tumbhaim</i>
Inst.	<i>pairm</i>	<i>tuṁhahim</i>
Abl.	<i>tumha</i> , <i>tumhe</i> <i>tuha</i> , <i>tumbha</i> .	
Gen.	<i>tumha</i> , <i>tumhe</i> , <i>tuha</i> , <i>tumbha</i> .	
Loc.	<i>pairm</i> .	

(Pu. XVII.63-64 ; RT. III.1.23 ; Mk. XVII.41-46).

- xii. *asmad* is declined as follows—

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	<i>humu</i>	<i>amhaim</i>
Acc.	<i>mairm</i>	<i>amhaim</i>
Inst.	<i>mairm</i>	<i>amhahim</i> , <i>amhehim</i> , <i>amhe</i>
Abl.	<i>maha</i> , <i>majjha</i> , <i>majjhu</i>	<i>amha</i>
Gen.	<i>maha</i> , <i>majjha</i> , <i>majjhu</i> , <i>amha</i>	
Loc.	<i>mairm</i>	<i>ahmāsu</i> , <i>ahmasu</i> (should be <i>amhāsu</i> , <i>amhasu</i>)

(Pu. XVII.65-67 ; RT. III.1.23 ; Mk. XVII.48-55).

- xiii. The terminations of the third person singular and of the first person plural are *di* and *hum* respectively. As, *so hasedi, hasahum amhairm*.
(Pu. XVII.70-71 ; RT. III.1.26 ; Mk. XVII.57-58).
- xiv. The suffix of the future is *ihī* and *isu* ; as, *bālau ehu hasihii, ehu hasisai kaṇha*.
(Pu. XVII.73-75 ; RT. III.1.28 ; Mk. XVII.59-61).
- xv. The following dhatvādeśas are found in Nāgaraka Apabhraṃśa—
sthā > *thakka, thā* ; *sthāpaya* > *thūva, thavva* ;
pra-viś > *paisara* ; *ā-śliṣ* > *āruṇḍa* (= *āruṇṇa* ?) ;
tim > *timma* ; *drś* > *dekkha, passa* ;
vad > *volḥa* ; *darśaya* > *dākkha, darasa* ;
vraj > *vañca* ; *muc* > *mukkhā, mua, mulla* ;
grah > *guṇḥa* ; *kṛ* > *kaḍa* ;
ānaya > *āṇāva* ; *ā-cakṣ* > *akkha*.
- xvi. The following Apabhraṃśa words occur in the meanings described thereon—
tvam = *tomme*, *adhunā* = *muehi*,
teṣām = *tāṇṇa*, *amibhiḥ* = *ehim*,
dvi = *dui*, *tri* = *tiṇṇi* > mod. Beng. *tin*.
catur = *cāri* > mod. Beng. *cār*.

2. Vrācaḍa.

§138. The basis of Vrācaḍa Apabhraṃśa, which is current in the Sindhu country, is recorded as being nothing but Nāgara. The following are its chief characteristics.

- i. *ṣ, s* > *ś*.
- ii. The *c*-varga is pronounced as clear palatals, (*spaṣṭa-tālavyaḥ*) ; *t* and *dh* are pronounced as slurred (*aspaṣṭa*).
(Pu. XVIII.2-4 ; RT. III.2.2-3 ; Mk. XVIII.2-4).
- iii. *t* and *d* > *ṭ* and *ḍ* respectively.

iv. Some substitutes :—

eva > *je*, *jjī* ;

śaiva > *sojjī* ;

bhū > *bho* ;

khaḍgaḥ > *khaṇḍu* ;

brū > *bro* ;

vṛṣ > *varka* ;

vraj > *vañja*.

3. Upanāgaraka

§139. Puruṣottama says that Upanāgara is an admixture of Nāgaraka and Vrācaḍa ; and it has several other local speeches, such as, Vaidarbhi, Lāṭi, Auḍrī, Kaikeyi, Gauḍi and the speeches of the countries, such as, Ṭakka, Varvara, Kuntala, Pāṇḍya, Siṃhala etc. The characteristics of these dialects as found in Puruṣottama (XVIII.16-23) and Rāmaśarmā (III.2.5-13) have been summed up by Mārkaṇḍeya in his commentary on XVIII.12. These are the following : —

- i. tu-bahulā *Mālavī*.
- ii. vāḍi-bahulā *Pāñcālī*.
- iii. ulla-prāyā *Vaidarbhi*.
- iv. sambodhanāḍhyā *Lāṭi*.
- v. ikāro' kāra-bahulā *Auḍhrī*.
- vi. savīpsā *Kaikeyī*.
- vii. samāsāḍhyā *Gauḍī*.
- viii. ḍakāra-bahulā *Kauntalī*.
- ix. ekāriṇī ca *Pāṇḍyā*.
- x. yuktāḍhyā *Saimhālī*.
- xi. himyuktā *Kāliṅgī*.
- xii. *Prācyā* tad-deśīya-bhāṣāḍhyā.
- xiii. bhaṭṭ(y)ādi-bahulā *Ābhīrī*.
- xiv. varṇa-viparyayāt *Kārṇāṭī*.
- xv. *Madhyadeśīyā* tad-deśīyāḍhyā.
- xvi. samṣkṛtāḍhyā ca *Gaurjarī*.
- xvii. ca-kārāt pūrvo'kta-Ṭakka-bhāṣāgrahaṇam
- xviii. ra-la-ha-bhyām vyatyayena *Pāścātyā*.
- xvi. repha-vyatyayena *Drāviḍī*.
- xx. ḍha-kāra-bahulā *Vaitālikī*.
- xxi. e-o-bahulā *Kāñcī*.

(IV) *Paiśācī and its varieties.*1. *Kaikeya Paiśācī.*

§140. The easterners describe the *Paiśācī* dialect much more fully than the westerners. Grierson (*The Prakrit Dhātuvādeśas*, p. 84) says that "when we come to *Paiśācī* we find two very different dialects described. Vararuci, Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya all agree in their accounts of a language which they call '*Paiśācī*' or '*Paiśācika*', and which is not the same as the language described under that name by Trivikrama, Hemacandra, Lakṣmīdhara and Sīmharāja". The easterners have mentioned numerous *Paiśācī* dialects, such as, *Kaikeya*, *Śaurasena*, *Pāñcāla*, *Kāñca*, *Gauḍa*, *Dākṣiṇātya*, *Drāviḍa*, *Pāṇḍya*, *Māgadha*, *Vrācaḍa* and *Śābara*; but they did not mention *Cūlikā-paiśācī*. Of these the *Kaikeya-paiśācī* is the basis of all other varieties, excluding *Cūlikā-paiśācī*. The chief characteristics of *Kaikeya-paiśācī*, corrupt form of *Śauraseni* mixed with Sanskrit, are given below.

- i. *ś* and *ṣ* > *s*.
- ii. cerebrāl *ṇ* > dental *n*.
(Vr.X.5-8; Pu.XIX.8.12; RT.III.3.3; Mk.XIX.3-7).
- iii. Generally intervocalic—
 $g > k$; and similarly, $gh > kh$;
 $j > c$; „ „ „ $jh > ch$;
 $ḍ > ṭ$; „ „ „ $ḍh > ṭh$;
 $d > t$; „ „ „ $dh > th$;
 $b > p$; „ „ „ $bh > ph$.
- iv. Conjuncts are treated as follows :—
ny, jñ. ṇy > ññ;
ry > ria.
(Vr.X.11-12; Pu.XIX.21-22; Mk.XIX.6-12).
- v. *r > l* (RT.III.3.7).
- vi. Some words are substituted as follows (RT.III.3.4-8).
grham > kiham; „ „ „ *iva > piva*;
prthivī > prthumī; „ „ „ *hrdayam > hitapakam*;

<i>prathamam</i> > <i>prthumaṁ</i> ;	<i>vismayaḥ</i> > <i>piśumao</i> ;
<i>kvacit</i> > <i>kupaci</i> ;	<i>sukṣma</i> > <i>sukhama</i> ;
<i>kāryam</i> > <i>kaccaṁ</i> ;	<i>pakṣma</i> > <i>pakhamam</i> ;
<i>rājan</i> > <i>rāci</i> ;	<i>kṛta</i> > <i>kaḍa</i> ;
<i>mṛta</i> > <i>maḍa</i> ;	<i>gata</i> > <i>gaḍa</i> (analogically)

2. Śaurasena Paisācī

§141. The Śaurasena-paisācī is based on Kaikeya-paisācī. Its chief characteristics, as given by Puruṣottama, are noted below.

- i. *r* > *l*. (Pu.XX.2).
- ii. *ṣ* and *s* > *ś* (Pu.XX.3).
- iii. The pronunciation of *ca-varga* is clear palatal (*cu-vyakta-tālavya*, Pu.XX.4).
- iv. *kṣ* > *śk* (Pu.XX.5).
- v. *cch* > *śc* (Pu.XX.6).
- vi. *tth* > *śt* (Pu.XX.7).
- vii. *st*, and *ṣt* remain unchanged (Pu.XX.8-9).
- viii. *piba* > *pia* (Pu.XX.10) *kaḍa*, *maḍa* and *gaḍa* are also used in this dialect (Pu.XX.11).
- ix. *adhunā* > *ahunā* (Pu.XX.12).
- x. Declensional endings :—(Pu.XX.14-16).
aḥ > *o*, *a* : *am* > *aṁ*, *o*, *a*.

3. Pāñcāla Paisācī

§142. The Pāñcāla-paisācī is strictly based on the Kaikeya and Śaurasena-paisācī. It does not vary very much from these two standard speeches of Paisācī. Only one characteristic of Pāñcāla is mentioned : *l* > *r* (Pu.XX.19 ; RT.III.3.11 ; Mk.XX.14). Rāmaśarmā (III.3.11) says that in Gauḍa Paisācika *r* may be 'used for *l* and vice versa According to Rāmaśarmā (III.3.13-17) Paisācī can mainly be divided into two groups : *suddha* and *asuddha* for which vide §56.

(V) *Some Bengali words in the works of the easterners*

§143. Lastly it may be added that in the works of Kramadīśvara, Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya, we find indications of some interesting modern Bengali forms. These forms, though can be derived directly from Prakrit, are important, because the eastern grammarians noticed them a few centuries earlier. Some forms are directly mentioned by them, and some can be obtained with easy phonetic equations. As these forms will be interesting, I have noted them below. [As all the forms are mentioned by them, I have avoided references, except in some particular cases not mentioned by all].

āṭhi < *aṭṭhi* (seed). (RT.I.3.9).

kāṇa < *kaṇha* < *kṛṣṇa*.

kāṇḍha < *khandho* < *Skt. skandha* (shoulder).

kāhaṇa < *kāhāvaṇa* < *Skt. kārṣāpaṇa* (an aggregate of eighty articles).

keha < *Skt. kīḍṛśa* (RT.III.1.6).

khām < *khambho* < *Skt. stamba* (post).

khāḍā < *khaṇḍu* < *khaḍga* (RT.III.2.3).

gūi < *gomia* < *Skt. gomika* (RT.II.2.24) which probably goes back to *gaulmika*, an officer in charge of a *gulma*, a small part of an army.

ghol (buttermilk) < *gholla* < *Skt. ghūrṇa*.

gholū (turbid) < *gholla* < *ghūrṇa*.

cār < *cāri* < *catur* (RT.III.1.31).

cikhila < *cikhillā*. Kramadīśvara's sūtra *cikhillā picchile*. Compare Caryāpada 5/2 *cikhila*.

chādan < *chandāṇia* (> *chādaṇi*) < *Skt. sandānita* (fetters) (RT.III.1.3)

jokār < *jaakkāra*, *jokkāra* < *jayakāra*.

tin < *tiṇṇi* < *tri* (RT.III.1.31).

nāc(h) < *racchā* : *lacchā* < *Skt. rathyā* : *lakṣmī*
 Beng. *lāch*, *nāch*. cf. *nāc (h)-duār*
 (front door) (RT.I.3.5).

pālam < *pallaṅka* < *Skt. paryāṅka* (cushioned bed).
pirthimi < *pr̥thumi* (> *pirthumi*) < *pr̥thivī* Beng.
 dialectal *pirthimi* (RT.III.3.4)

hej (a surname) < *vejjo* < *Skt. vaidya*.
be(y)āḍā < *viāḍḍha* < *Skt. vitardi* (obstinate)
 (RT.I.3.10).

maḍā < *maḍaa* < *mṛtaka*. (RT.II.2.29).

māchi < *macchiā* < *Skt. makṣikā*.

mājā-ghasā (cleaning and rubbing) < cf. *Skt.*
mṛj > *maj* and *ghṛs* > *ghas*.

michā < *micchā* < *Skt. mithyā*.

meye (daughter) < *māiā* < *mātr* (a mother)
 (RT.II.2.24) a 'woman', then a daughter.

vīlā (in the sense of creeper) < *vallī*, *vellī*,
vella < *Skt. vallī*.

sej < *sejjā* < *Skt. śayyā*.

old Beng. *saṇā* (hint) < *saṇṇī*.

hārāy (loses) < *hārāvedi* < *Skt. hārayati*.

FINIS

APPENDIX A

[Texts of Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala, and Kapila as collected from the works of Puruṣottama, Rāmatakavāgiśa, and Mārkaṇḍeya.]

Puruṣottama on Śākalya

1. घातोर्भविष्यति हिः ॥ VI.13.
स्सञ्च शाकल्यस्य ॥ VI.14.

Rāmatakavāgiśa on Śākalya, Māṇḍavya and Kapila.

2. स्वार्थे मतौ केवलम् अल्ल-एल्लौ
शाकल्य-माण्डव्य-मते ह-कारः ॥ I.V.19.
[Cf. Pu. IV.30 ; MK. IV.48]
एकल्लो एकल्लो तथा एक्काहो । पुत्तल्लो पुत्तल्लो तथा पुत्तहो ॥
3. क्तवार्थे (तु-तुं) ऋसन्ति केऽपि धीराः
शाकल्य-माण्डव्य-मते विलोक्य ॥ I.V.23.
(Cf. Pu. IV.24 ; MK. IV.38)
4. तुज्जे च तुम्हे शसि वो च वाच्याः
शाकल्य-माण्डव्य-मते तु तुम्हे ॥ I.VI.25.
(Cf. Vr. VI.28-29 ; MK. V.83-84)
5. शाकल्य-माण्डव्य-मते तु एव
भव्य क्त-तुं-क्त्वा-पर एदितौ च ॥ I.VII.14.
(Cf. Vr. VII.28 ; Pu. VI.42 ; MK. VI.7)
6. त्वरेस्तु तुवरए शाकल्यमते ॥ (Vṛtti under I.VIII.1)
7. कथे हंकारोऽथ भिदि-चिह्नोन्दो
भेदे च शाकल्यमते तयोः स्यात् ॥ I.VIII.14.
(Cf. Vr. VIII. 38, 41, 44, 52 ; Pu. VII.11 ; MK. VII. 66, 84)

8. धातु-स्वरूपाण्यपराणि पक्षे शाकल्य-माण्डव्य-मतानुगानि । •
 कात्यायनस्यापि मते तथैव ज्ञेयानि लक्ष्यतुभवरूपेण ॥ I.VIII.42.
9. भो हौ च शाकल्यमते भुवश्च ॥ II.1.25.
- Cf. होश्च शाकल्यमते स्यात् ॥ MK. IX.109.
- (Cf. Vr. XII. 12, 15 ; Pu. IX. 77-78)

Mārkaṇḍeya on Śākalya.

10. हलन्ताद् ईद् एवेति शाकल्यः । (Vṛtti under V.30)
 आदीतौ बहुलम् ॥ MK. V.30.
- Cf. Vr. आदीतौ बहुलम् ॥ V.24.
- स्त्रियां नाम्न उत्तरे आदीतौ बहुलं स्याताम् । सोहणा सोहणी । सुप्पणहा
 सुप्पणही । राहा राही । क्वचिद् आदेव । पिआ । वल्लहा । असहणा ।
 अहणा । माणिणी । माणंसिणी । हलन्ताद् ईद् एवेति शाकल्यः ।
- तत्र वसन्तराजः—

- अदन्तात् परमाकार ईकारो व्यञ्जनादपि ।
 इत्येवं व्यवतिष्ठन्ते बहुलग्रहणात् परे ॥
11. तुज्झ-तुम्हौ सुपि स्यातां शाकल्यस्यात् इन्मते ॥ V.96.
 (Cf. Vr. VI.29, 33 ; RT. I.VI.29)
12. होश्च शाकल्यस्य स्यात् ॥ IX.109.
 (Vide No. 9 above)

Mārkaṇḍeya on Kohala

13. राक्षस-भिक्षु-क्षपणक-चेटाद्या मागधी प्राहुरिति कोहलः ॥ XII.1.

Rāmatarakavāṛgiśa on Kohala.

14. कपिलस्य तव्य-क्तयोर्गंहिः स्यात् ॥ II.1.28.
 (Cf. MK. IX.130. Vide No. 15 below)
15. न क्त-क्तवतु-तव्येषु कपिलो गेण् इच्छति ॥ IX.130.
 (Cf. RT. II.1.28, Vide No. 14 above)

APPENDIX B

भस्तमुनिप्रणीतं प्राकृतभाषालक्षणम्

[प्राक्कथनम्]

एवं तु संस्कृतं पाठ्यं मया प्रोक्तं समासतः ।
प्राकृतस्य तु पाठ्यस्य संप्रवक्ष्यामि लक्षणम् ॥ 1 ॥
एतदेव विपर्यस्तं संस्कार-गुण-वर्जितम् ।
विज्ञेयं प्राकृतं पाठ्यं नानावस्थान्तरात्मकम् ॥ 2 ॥
त्रिविधं तच्च विज्ञेयं नाट्ययोगे समासतः ।
समानशब्दं विभ्रष्टं देशीगतमथापि च ॥ 3 ॥
पाठ्यमेकं तु विज्ञेयं संस्कृतं प्राकृतं यथा ।
कमलामल-रेणु-तरङ्ग-लोल-सलिलादि-वाक्यसम्पन्नम् ॥ 4 ॥
प्राकृतबन्धेष्वेवं संस्कृतमपि योगमुपधाति ।
ये वर्णाः संयोग-स्वर-वर्णान्यन्वन्तानां वापि ॥ 5 ॥
गच्छन्त्यपदादौ प्रायो विभ्रष्टांस्तान् इति विदुर्विप्राः ।
ये वर्णा वर्णगता व्यञ्जन-युक्ताश्च ये स्वरा नियताः ॥ 6 ॥

[प्राकृतलक्षणानि]

ए-ओ-आर-पराणि अ अं आरपरं अ पाअए णत्थि ।
बस-आर-मज्झिमाइ अ क-च-वग्ग-तवग्ग-णिहणाइ ॥ 7 ॥
बच्चंति क-य-त-द-य-वा लोपं अत्थं च से बहंति सरा ।
ख-घ-थ-ध-भा उण हत्तं उवेति अत्थं मुचंता ॥ 8 ॥
उप्पर-हुत्त-रबारो हेट्टाहुत्तो अ पाअए णत्थि ।
मोत्तूण भद्र-बोद्धह-पद्र-ह्मद-चन्द्र-जाइसु ॥ 9 ॥
ख-घ-थ-ध-भाण-ह-आरो मुह-मेह-कहा-बहू-पहू-एसु ।
क-ग-त-द-प-वाण णिच्चं वीयम्मि ठियो सरो होइ ॥ 10 ॥
छ इति षकारो नित्यं बोद्धव्यः षट्-पदादि-योगेषु ।
किलशब्दान्त्यो रेफो भवति तथा खु ति खलुशब्दः ॥ 11 ॥

ड इति च भवति टकारो भट-कटककुटी-तटाद्येषु ।
 सत्वं च भवति शषयोः सर्वत्र, यथा विसं संका ॥ 12 ॥
 अस्पष्टश्च दकारो भवत्क्षनादौ तकार इतराद्यः ।
 वडवा-तडाग-तुल्यो भवति डकारोऽपि च लकारः ॥ 13 ॥
 वध-मधु-शब्दे च तथा घकारवर्णो हकारतां याति ।
 शठ-पाठ-पीठिकादिषु ठकार-वर्णोऽपि ढत्वमुपयाति ॥
 सर्वत्र च प्रयोगे भवति नकारोऽपि च णकारः ॥ 14 ॥
 आपाणं आवाणं भवति पकारेण वत्वयुक्तेन ।
 अयथा-तथादिकेषु तु थकारवर्णो व्रजति धत्वम् ॥ 15 ॥
 परुषं फरुसं विद्यात् पकारवर्णोऽपि फत्वमुपयाति ।
 यस्तु मृतः सोऽपि मओ यश्च मृमः सोऽपि हि तथैव च ॥ 16 ॥
 ओकारत्वं गच्छेद् ओकारश्चौषधादिषु नियुक्तः ।
 प्रचलाचिराचलादिषु भवति चकारोऽपि तु यकारः ॥ 17 ॥
 अपरस्परनिष्पन्ना ह्येवं प्राकृतसमाश्रया वर्णाः ।
 संयुक्तानां तु पुनर्वक्ष्ये परिवृत्तिसंयोगम् ॥ 18 ॥

[संयुक्तविधिः]

अ-प्स-त्स-य्याः छ इति तथा भ्य-ह्य-ध्या भवन्ति तु भकाराः ।
 ष्टः ट्टः, स्तः त्थः, ञ्मो म्हः, क्ष्णो ण्हः, ञ्मो ण्हः, क्षः खकाररूपोऽपि ॥ 19 ॥
 आश्चर्यं अक्छरिअं, निश्चयमिक्छन्ति निक्छयं च तथा ।
 वत्सं वक्छं च तथा अप्सरसं तद्वदक्छरअं ॥ 20 ॥
 उत्साहो उक्छाहो पथ्यं पक्छं च विज्ञेयम् ।
 तुभ्यं तुज्जं मह्यं मज्जं विन्ध्यश्च भवति विज्ञोत्ति ॥ 21 ॥
 दष्टो दट्टो त्ति तथा हस्तोऽपि च भवति हत्थो त्ति ।
 ग्रीष्मो गिम्हो त्ति तथा श्लक्ष्णं सण्हं सदा तु विज्ञेयम् ॥ 22 ॥
 उष्णं उण्हं यक्षो जक्सो पत्तं को भवति पर्यङ्कः ।
 विपरीतं ह्मयोगे ब्रह्मादी स्याद् बृहस्पती फत्वम् ॥ 23 ॥
 यज्ञो भवति च जण्णो भीष्मो भिम्हो त्ति विज्ञेयः ।
 उपरिगतोऽधस्ताद्वा भवेत् ककारादिकस्तु यो वर्णः ॥
 स हि संयोगविहीनः शुद्धः कार्यः प्रयोगोऽस्मिन् ॥ 24 ॥

एवमेतन्मया प्रोक्तं किञ्चित् प्राकृतलक्षणम् ।
शेषं देशीप्रसिद्धं च ज्ञेयं विप्राः प्रयोगतः ॥ 25 ॥

[भाषाविभागाः]

अत ऊढ्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि देशभाषाप्रकल्पनम् ।
भाषा चतुर्विधा ज्ञेया दशरूपे प्रयोगतः ॥ 26 ॥
संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चैव यत्र पाठ्यं प्रयुज्यते ।
अतिभाषार्यभाषा च जातिभाषा तथैव च ॥ 27 ॥
तथा योन्यन्तरी चैव भाषा नाट्ये प्रकीर्तिता ।
अतिभाषा तु देवानाम् आर्यभाषा तु भूभुजाम् ॥ 28 ॥
संस्कार-पाठ्य-संयुक्ता सम्यङ् न्याय्य-प्रतिष्ठिता ।
द्विविधा जातिभाषा च प्रयोगे समुदाहृता ॥ 29 ॥
म्लेच्छ-शब्दोपचारा च भारतं वर्षमाश्रिता ।
अथ योन्यन्तरीभाषा ग्राम्यारण्य-पशून्ध्रवा ॥ 30 ॥
नाना-बिहङ्गजा चैव नाट्य-धर्मी प्रतिष्ठिता ।
जातिभाषाश्रयं पाठ्यं द्विविधं समुदाहृतम् ॥ 31 ॥
प्राकृतं संस्कृतं चैव चातुर्वर्ण्य-समाश्रयम् ।
धीरोद्धाते सललिते धीरोदात्ते तथैव च ॥ 32 ॥
धीरप्रशान्ते च तथा पाठ्यं योज्यं तु संस्कृतम् ।
एतेषामपि सर्वेषां नायकानां प्रयोगजम् ॥ 33 ॥
कारणव्यपदेशेन प्राकृतं संप्रयोजयेत् ।
दारिद्र्याध्यायनाभाव-यदृच्छादिभिरेव च ॥ 34 ॥
ऐश्वर्येण प्रमत्तानां दारिद्रेण प्लुतात्मनाम् ।
अनधीतोत्तमानां च संस्कृतं न प्रयोजयेत् ॥ 35 ॥
व्याज-लिङ्ग-प्रविष्टानां श्रमणानां तपस्विनाम् ।
भिक्षु-चक्र-चरानां च प्राकृतं संप्रयोजयेत् ॥ 36 ॥
भागवत-तापसोन्मत्त-बाल-नीच-ग्रहोपसृष्टेसु ।
स्त्री-नीच-जातिषु तथा नपुंसके प्राकृतं योज्यम् ॥ 37 ॥
परिव्राण-मुनि-शाक्येषु बौद्धेषु श्रोत्रियेषु च ।
शिष्टा ये चैव लिङ्गस्थाः संस्कृतं तेषु योजयेत् ॥ 38 ॥

राज्ञाश्च गणिकायाश्च शिल्पकार्यास्तथैव च ।
 कलावस्थान्तरकृतं योज्यं पाठ्यं तु संस्कृतम् ॥ 39 ॥
 सन्धि-विग्रह-सम्बन्धं तथा च प्राप्तवाग्गतिम् ।
 ग्रह-नक्षत्र-चरितं खगानां रुचमेव च ॥ 40 ॥
 सर्वमेतत् विज्ञेयं काव्यबन्धे शुभाशुभम् ।
 नृपपत्न्या स्मृतं तस्मात् काले पाठ्यं तु संस्कृतम् ॥ 41 ॥
 क्रीडार्थं सर्वलोकस्य प्रयोगे च सुखाश्रयम् ।
 कलाभ्यासाश्रयं चैव पाठ्यं वेश्यासु संस्कृतम् ॥ 42 ॥
 कलोपचार-ज्ञानार्थं क्रीडार्थं पाथिवस्य च ।
 निर्दिष्टं शिल्पकार्यास्तु नाटके संस्कृतं वचः ॥ 43 ॥
 आम्नायसिद्धं सर्वासां शुभमप्सरसां वचः ।
 संसर्गाद् देवतानां च तद्धि लोकोऽनुवर्तते ॥ 44 ॥
 छन्दतः प्राकृत पाठ्यं स्मृतमप्सरसां भुवि ।
 मानुषाणां च कर्तव्यं कारणार्थ-व्यपेक्षया ॥ 45 ॥
 न बर्बर-किरातान्ध्र-द्रमिलाद्यासु जातिषु ।
 नाट्ययोगे तु कर्तव्यं पाठ्यं भाषासमाश्रयम् ॥ 46 ॥
 सर्वास्वेव हि शुद्धासु जातिषु द्विजसत्तमाः ।
 शौरसेनीं समाश्रित्य भाषां काव्येषु योजयेत् ॥ 47 ॥
 अथवा छन्दतः कार्या देशभाषा प्रयोक्तृभिः ।
 नानादेश-समुत्थं हि काव्यं भवति नाटके ॥ 48 ॥
 मागध्यवन्तिजा प्राच्या शौरसेन्यर्धमागधी ।
 बाह्लीका दाक्षिणात्या च सप्त भाषा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ 49 ॥
 शकाराभीर-चण्डाल-शबर-द्रविडान्ध्रजाः ।
 हीना वनेचराणां च विभाषा नाटके स्मृताः ॥ 50 ॥
 मागधी तु नरेन्द्राणाम् अन्तःपुरसमाश्रया ।
 चेटाणां राजपुत्राणां श्रेष्ठिणां चार्धमागधी ॥ 51 ॥
 प्राच्या विदूषकादीनां धूर्तानामप्यवन्तिजा ।
 नायिकानां सखीनां शौरसेन्यविरोधिनी ॥ 52 ॥
 योष-नागरकादीनां दाक्षिणात्याथ दीव्यताम् ।
 बाह्लीक-भाषोदीच्यानां सप्तानां च स्वदेशजा ॥ 53 ॥

शकार-घोषकादीनां तत् स्वभावश्च यो गणः ।
 शकारभाषा योक्तव्या चाण्डाली पुलकसादिषु ॥ 54 ॥
 अङ्गारकार-व्यधानां काष्ठयन्त्रोपजीविनाम् ।
 योज्या शकारभाषा तु किञ्चित् वानौकसी तथा ॥ 55 ॥
 गजाश्वाजीविकोष्टादि-घोष-स्थान-निवासिनम् ।
 आभीरोक्तिः शावरी च द्रामिडी वनचारिषु ॥ 56 ॥
 सुरङ्ग-खनकादीनां सन्धिकाराश्च-रक्षताम् ।
 व्यसने नायकानां चाप्यात्मरक्षासु मागधी ॥ 57 ॥
 न बर्बर-किरातान्ध-द्रमिलाद्यासु जातिषु ।
 नाट्य प्रयोगे कर्तव्यं काव्यं भाषासमाश्रितम् ॥ 58 ॥

[प्राकृतभाषाणामवस्थितिः]

गङ्गा-सागर-मध्ये तु ये देशाः संप्रकीर्तिताः ।
 एकार-बहुलां भाषां तेषु तज्ज्ञः प्रयोजयेत् ॥ 59 ॥
 विन्ध्य-सागर-मध्ये तु ये देशाः श्रुतिमागताः ।
 नकार-बहुलां तेषु भाषां तज्ज्ञः प्रयोजयेत् ॥ 60 ॥
 सुराष्ट्रावन्तिदेशेषु वेत्रवत्युत्तरेषु च ।
 ये देशास्तेषु कुर्वीत चकार-प्राय-संश्रयाम् ॥ 61 ॥
 हिमवत् सिन्धु-सौवीरान् ये जनाः समुपश्रिताः ।
 उकार बहुलां तज्ज्ञस्तेषु भाषां प्रयोजयेत् ॥ 62 ॥
 चर्मन्वतीनदीतीरे ये चार्बुद-समाश्रयाः ।
 ओकार बहुलां नित्यं तेषु भाषां प्रयोजयेत् ॥ 63 ॥
 एवं भाषाविधानं तु कर्तव्यं नाटकाश्रयम् ।
 अथ नोक्तं मया यच्च लोकाद् ग्राह्यं बुधैस्तु तत् ॥ 64 ॥

APPENDIX C

पुरुषोत्तमकृतं प्राकृतानुशासनम्

अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः

संयुक्तविधिः

दंस्य डः सम्मर्दादौ ॥ 1 ॥

त्य-ध्ययोश् चछौ ॥ 2 ॥

द्यस्य जोऽपदादौ ॥ 3 ॥

ध्य-ह्योर् भः ॥ 4 ॥

र्ध-ग्धयोर् बहुलं ढः ॥ 5 ॥

ष्क-स्क-क्षां खः ॥ 6 ॥

अक्ष्यादिषु च्छः ॥ 7 ॥

क्षण-वृक्ष-वक्षसां वा ॥ 8 ॥

प्रक्षरितादौ भः ॥ 9 ॥

ष्मस्य म्हः ॥ 10 ॥

श्न-ष्ण-क्ष-क्षण-ह्णानां ण्हः ॥ 11 ॥

ष्पस्योर् फः ॥ 12 ॥

वाष्पेऽश्रुणि ष्पस्यो हः ॥ 13 ॥

श्च-त्स-प्सां-च्छः ॥ 14 ॥

न्मस्य मः ॥ 15 ॥

न्नस्य णः ॥ 16 ॥

कमस्य पः ॥ 17 ॥

आत्मनि त्स्य वा ॥ 18 ॥

शेषादेशयोर् द्वित्वम् अनादौ ॥ 19 ॥

वर्गणां द्वितीय-चतुर्थयोः शेषादेशयोर्-

ऊर्ध्वं प्रथमतृतीयौ ॥ 20 ॥

नीड-स्रोत-प्रेमर्जु-यौवन-तैल-त्रं लोव्या-

देर् द्वित्वम् अनादौ यथादृष्टि ॥ 21 ॥

सेवादिषु वा ॥ 22 ॥

ममासे च वा द्वित्वम् ॥ 23 ॥

वक्रादिष्वनुस्वारः ॥ 24 ॥

मांसादिषु बिन्दुलुग् वा ॥ 25 ॥

मस्कृत-संस्कारादौ नित्यम् ॥ 26 ॥

क्लिष्ट-म्लिष्ट-श्लिष्ट-क्रिया-रत्नशाङ्गि-

देर् युक्तस्य विश्लेषः परस्वरवत्ता च

पूर्वस्य ॥ 27 ॥

श्री-स्त्री-ह्री-कलान्त-क्लेश-म्लानादा-

विदन्तता ॥ 28 ॥

हं-र्षयोश्च ॥ 29 ॥

क्ष्मा-श्लाघादेर् अदन्तता ॥ 30 ॥

स्नेहादौ वा ॥ 31 ॥

उ पद्य-तन्व्यादिषु ॥ 32 ॥

पुरुषोत्तमस्य प्राकृतानुशासने तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः

सन्ध्यादिविधिः

सन्ध्यावचाम् अज्जलोपो विशेषश्च

बहुलम् ॥ 1 ॥

अनुस्वारस्य वा सन्धिः ॥ 2 ॥

अपेर् विः पदान्ते ॥ 3 ॥

अनुस्वारात् पिः ॥ 4 ॥	पृष्ठालि-प्रश्न-सन्धयोर् वा ॥ 21 ॥
तिर् इतेः ॥ 5 ॥	अवापयोर् उपसर्गबोर् ओत्वं वा ॥ 22 ॥
बिन्दुलोपश् चात्र वा ॥ 6 ॥	क्त्वस् तूष्-तूष्णौ ॥ 23 ॥
आद्-ईद्-ऊतां ह्रस्वश्च ॥ 7 ॥	क्त्वार्थं तुमुन् ॥ 24 ॥
इवार्थे च ॥ 8 ॥	त्यपस् चैवः ॥ 25 ॥
न्चिव-च्चेययोश्च ॥ 9 ॥	क्त्वतोस् तवन्तः ॥ 26 ॥
समासे पूर्वनिपातानियमः ॥ 10 ॥	शीलार्थे तृण इरः ॥ 27 ॥
निषिद्धोऽपि षष्ठीसमासः ॥ 11 ॥	तण-दा-तास् त्व-तलोः ॥ 28 ॥
अन्त्यस्य हलो लुक् ॥ 12 ॥	आल-इल्ल-उल्ल-आलु-वन्त-इत्ता-मतुपो यथादृष्टि ॥ 29 ॥
स्त्रियाम् आद् अ-तडिद्-विद्युतोः ॥ 13 ॥	आल्वन्ताद् इणि च स्त्रियाम् ॥ 30 ॥
रेफस्य रा ॥ 14 ॥	मयटो वा मइयः ॥ 31 ॥
शरत्-प्रावृषयोर् द-सौ ॥ 15 ॥	स्वार्थे को वा ॥ 32 ॥
दिशः सा ॥ 16 ॥	भस्मादयः शब्दान्तरैः ॥ 33 ॥
हरिद्रादेष्टा-टिपी बहुलम् ॥ 17 ॥	द्रंष्ट्रादिषु दाढादयो बहुलम् ॥ 34 ॥
प्रावृट्-शरन्-नसान्ताः पुंसि प्रेम-शिरो-नभो-वर्जम् ॥ 18 ॥	कुङ्कुमादयो शब्दसमाः ॥ 35 ॥
पुंक्लीवयोर् नयनादिः ॥ 19 ॥	थेरादयो देश्याः ॥ 36 ॥
स्त्रियाम् उष्मेमनिचौ ॥ 20 ॥	हिण्ड व्रीडित-भीतयोः ॥ 37 ॥

पुरुषोत्तमस्य प्राकृतानुशासने सन्ध्यादिविधिश् चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

अथ पञ्चमोऽध्यायः

सुव-विधिः

द्वित्वेऽपि बहुवचनम् ॥ 1 ॥	भिसो हि जसू-शस्त्रोर् इं च लघुवत् ॥ 9 ॥
चतुर्थ्याः षष्ठी तादर्थ्ये ॥ 2 ॥	जसो डा ॥ 10 ॥
बिन्दुर् अमः ॥ 3 ॥	शसो डे ॥ 11 ॥
हि भिसः ॥ 4 ॥	डेण टः ॥ 12 ॥
उसेर् दो-दु-हयः प्रकृतेर् दीर्घश्च ॥ 5 ॥	उसेर् द्वौ (वा) च ॥ 13 ॥
सुपः सुः ॥ 6 ॥	उसः स्स डेर ए-म्मी ॥ 14 ॥
तृतीयाद्यन्तस्य बहुलम् अन्तेऽनुस्वारः ॥ 7 ॥	डि-सुपोर् एत् ॥ 15 ॥
अदन्ताद् विसर्गलुग् ओत्वं च ॥ 8 ॥	

- इद्-उद्भ्याम् सु-जसोर् लुग्
 दीर्घश्च इदुतोः ॥ 16 ॥
 ओ-वो-णो च जशः ॥ 17 ॥
 ओ-वोर् अत्वं च इ-दुतोः ॥ 18 ॥
 शसो णो ॥ 19 ॥
 टा णा ॥ 20 ॥
 डसो णो-स्तौ ॥ 21 ॥
 डेर् म्मि ॥ 22 ॥
 डि-सुपोर् दीर्घः ॥ 23 ॥
 ऋत आरः सुपि ॥ 24 ॥
 पितृ-जामातृ-भ्रातृ णाम् अरः ॥ 25 ॥
 ऋत आरः पित्रादेर् अरश्च सौर् आ ॥ 26 ॥
 ऋत उव् च जस्-शष्-टाडस्सु ॥ 27 ॥
 यूनो जुआणः ॥ 28 ॥
 शुनः सुणहः ॥ 29 ॥
 पथः पहो ॥ 30 ॥
 आत्म-ब्रह्म-मूर्धध्वनां सु-जस्-शस्-टा-
 डस्सु वा न-लोपः ॥ 31 ॥
 अप्पात्तात्ताणो बात्मनः ॥ 32 ॥
 राज्ञः स्वमोर् अन्त्यलुग् वा ॥ 33 ॥
 रण्णा राइणा च टान्तस्य ॥ 34 ॥
 रण्णो राइणो च डसन्तस्य ॥ 35 ॥
 क्लीवे स्वमोर् बिन्दुः ॥ 36 ॥
 जस्-शसोर् इ-च दीर्घश्चात्र ॥ 37 ॥
 स्त्रियां ह्रस्वोऽमि ॥ 38 ॥
 जस्-शसोर् ओद्-उतौ ॥ 39 ॥
 जसो लोपश् च ॥ 40 ॥
 टा-डि-डसाम् एदु-इतौ ॥ 41 ॥
 भदु-आतौ च ॥ 42 ॥
 इदु-उतोर् दीर्घः सुपि लुकि च ॥ 43 ॥
 मातृ माता ॥ 44 ॥
 सम्बुद्धोर् लुकि न विकृतिः ॥ 45 ॥
 राज्ञो बिन्दुर् वा ॥ 46 ॥
 स्त्रियां ह्रस्वः ॥ 47 ॥
 आत एत् ॥ 48 ॥
 सर्वनाम्नो जसो डे ॥ 49 ॥
 डसेस् तो दौऽनिदमादेः ॥ 50 ॥
 डेः स्त्रिं-म्मि-न्थाः ॥ 51 ॥
 कि-यत्-तद्-इदम्-एतद्भ्यो
 डिणा वा टः ॥ 52 ॥
 डेसिम् आमः ॥ 53 ॥
 इदम् एसि वामा सह ॥ 54 ॥
 कि यत्-तदा डेर् हि च ॥ 55 ॥
 इया आहे काले च दार्थे ॥ 56 ॥
 डस आस वा ॥ 57 ॥
 किमः कः सुपि ॥ 58 ॥
 तदः पुंसि सौ स्त्रियां सा ॥ 59 ॥
 डसि-डसामन्तस्य तो-से-सि च
 पुंक्लीवयोः ॥ 60 ॥
 से स्त्रियां च ॥ 61 ॥
 कि-यत्-तदां टा-डस्-डिसु की जी तौ
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रो लः ॥ 4 ॥	ही विस्मयोपहासकुशलेषु ॥ 23 ॥
ज-भयोर् यम्हौ ॥ 5 ॥	लेले अले चाक्षेपसम्भाषणयोः ॥ 24 ॥
क्वस्य श्कः ॥ 6 ॥	अबन्तसोर् इदेतौ पुंसि ॥ 25 ॥
न क्वसोः ॥ 7 ॥	लुक् च च्छन्दोवशात् ॥ 26 ॥
क्षस्य संयोगवैपरीत्यञ्च ॥ 8 ॥	डसो ह्रत्वं वा दीर्घाश्चातः ॥ 27 ॥
त्थट्टयोः श्तष्टौ ॥ 9 ॥	पक्षे डसः स्स ए च ॥ 28 ॥
त्तट्टयोः क्वचित् ॥ 10 ॥	सम्बुद्धेर् एदोतौ ॥ 29 ॥
क्वस्य श्चः ॥ 11 ॥	आद् वाक्षेपे ॥ 30 ॥
घस्य हः क्वचित् ॥ 12 ॥	अहमर्थे हके हगे हुं च ॥ 31 ॥
चुः स्पष्टतालव्यः ॥ 13 ॥	युष्मानित्यर्थे तुम्हं च ॥ 32 ॥
निषेधबाहुल्यञ्च ॥ 14 ॥	तिष्ठतेश् चिट्टः ॥ 33 ॥
क्त्वो दाणिञ्च ॥ 15 ॥	वृषेर् वश्शञ्च ॥ 34 ॥
क्वचिद् इत् ॥ 16 ॥	लटि भुवो हुञ्चञ्च ॥ 35 ॥
कनि दीर्घः ॥ 17 ॥	कृतेः कप्पः ॥ 36 ॥
उद् अवापयीः ॥ 18 ॥	कृ-सृ-गर्गां क-म-गाः क्तस्य डत्वञ्च वा ॥ 37 ॥
अधुनार्थेऽहुणि ॥ 19 ॥	रोञ्जतेल् [च] लोपञ्च ॥ 38 ॥

श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य प्राकृतसूत्रे मागधीभाषा समाप्ता ।

अथ त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः

शाकरी

अथ शाकरी विभाषाविशेषो	त्थः प्रकृत्या च ॥ 4 ॥
मागध्याः ॥ 1 ॥	श्याले शिआलः ॥ 5 ॥
दुष्प्रेक्ष-सदृक्षयोः क्षस्य क्वसो वा ॥ 2 ॥	हृयसस्तं शिक्कञ्च ॥ 6 ॥
ष्टः श्टो विष्टरस्य ॥ 3 ॥	इवस्य अवश्च ॥ 7 ॥

क-बाहुल्यम् ॥ 8 ॥

लोपागमविकारश्च वर्णानां

बहुलम् ॥ 9 ॥

व्यत्ययश्च सुप् तिङ् स्वराणाम् ॥ 10 ॥

स्वादेर् लुक् च ॥ 11 ॥

संयोगे गुस्त्वं वा ॥ 12 ॥

अपार्थम् अक्रमं व्यर्थं पुनरुक्तं हतोपमम् ।

न्यायकार्यादिबाह्यञ्च शकारवचनं

भवेत् ॥ 13 ॥

यश्चुभिश् शकारभाषायाम् ॥ 14 ॥

इति पुरुषोत्तमदेवकृता प्राकृतानुशासने शाकारीभाषा-सूत्रं समाप्तम् ।

अथ चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः

चाण्डाली

अथ चाण्डाली मागधीविकृतिः ॥ 1 ॥

दूठः प्रकृत्या वा ॥ 5 ॥

अतः सोर् ओद्-एती ॥ 2 ॥

बः स्पर्शशेषश्च ॥ 6 ॥

इसः शः ॥ 3 ॥

इवस्य वश्च ॥ 7 ॥

म्मिश्च डे ॥ 4 ॥

क्त्वा द्वयः ॥ 8 ॥

ग्राम्योक्तयो बहुलम् ॥ 9 ॥

इति पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य प्राकृतानुशासने चाण्डालीभाषासूत्रं समाप्तम् ।

अथ पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः

शाबरी

शाबरी च मागधीविशेषश् च

एदितौ सी च ॥ 4 ॥

प्रकृत्या ॥ 1 ॥

सोर्लुक् च ॥ 5 ॥

पेक्खस्य श्च ॥ 2 ॥

का सम्बुद्धौ नित्यम् अगौरवे ॥ 6 ॥

अहमथ हके हं च ॥ 3 ॥

प्रायो देशीतः ॥ 7 ॥

इति पुरुषोत्तमकृतौ प्राकृतानुशासने शाबरीभाषासूत्रं समाप्तम् ।

अथ षोडशोऽध्यायः

टक्की

अथ टक्कदेशीया विभाषा

भ्यसो हं हुं च ॥ 4 ॥

संस्कृतशौरसेन्योः ॥ 1 ॥

आमो वा ॥ 5 ॥

उद् बहुलम् ॥ 2 ॥

वा (सर्वादिषु च ?) ॥ 6 ॥

ए च टान्तस्य ॥ 3 ॥

त्वमहमर्थेषु तुहं हमं (हम्) ॥ 7 ॥

वथा-तथोर् जिघ-तिघौ ॥ 8 ॥

शेषः प्रयोगात् ॥ 9 ॥

हरिश्चन्द्रस्त्वमां टक्कभावात्पञ्च-
मिच्छति न प्राकृतम् ॥ 10 ॥

इति श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्य कृतौ प्राकृतानुशासनसूत्रम् समाप्तम् ।

अथ सप्तदशोऽध्यायः

नागराप्रभ्रंशः

अथातोऽपभ्रंशानुशासनम् तत्र

नागरकः ॥ 1 ॥

शषोः सः ॥ 2 ॥

यस्य जः ॥ 3 ॥

नो णः ॥ 4 ॥

कगादेः स्वरशेषता ॥ 5 ॥

पो बः ॥ 6 ॥

फो भः ॥ 7 ॥

खघथभां हः ॥ 8 ॥

प्रकटादाव् आदेर् आत्वं वा ॥ 9 ॥

गृध्रादेः ऋत इत्वम् ॥ 10 ॥

ओद् औतः ॥ 11 ॥

अउः पौरुषादिषु ॥ 12 ॥

अनादावयुजां कखतथां गघदधा

वा ॥ 13 ॥

व्यासादीनामादेर् अघो रः ॥ 14 ॥

र-ऋतौ प्रकृत्या च ॥ 15 ॥

गुरुलाघवं च्छन्दोवशात् ॥ 16 ॥

अज्झलौ च बहुलम् ॥ 17 ॥

अदन्ताद् जशशसोर् डा ॥ 18 ॥

स्त्रियां डिः ॥ 19 ॥

दुश्च ॥ 20 ॥

व्यत्ययो लिङ्गानाम् ॥ 21 ॥

इधामोह् स्वश्च ॥ 22 ॥

गावत्तावतोर्जिम-तिमौ ॥ 23 ॥

भूत-इत्यर्थे भूहः ॥ 24 ॥

कइ-किप्रदु-किप्र-कि(की)राः

पञ्चमी किमर्थे ॥ 25 ॥

इवार्थे ण णइ णावइ ण्हं जिम

जणि ॥ 26 ॥

जइं पादपूरणे ॥ 27 ॥

खेदे वइः ॥ 28 ॥

स्वच्छन्दादौ छच्छन्दादयः ॥ 29 ॥

तदीय-मदीययोस् तुम्भाराम्भारौ ॥ 30 ॥

वदादयो देश्याम् ॥ 31 ॥

एविण्वेपिण्वेप्येवयः क्त्वः ॥ 32 ॥

इदिऔ च ॥ 33 ॥

प्पिप्पिणूव् ओ च ब्रुवः ॥ 34 ॥

भू-गमि-कृवां भो-ग-करा विभाषा ॥ 35 ॥

एव अणहुं अणहिं एप्पि एप्पिणु-

एवयः [तुं-प्रत्यये च] ॥ 36 ॥

इअव्वस् तव्यः ॥ 37 ॥

इअव्वउं एव्वउं च क्लीवे ॥ 38 ॥

त्तणु-प्पणु-दास् त्व-तलोः ॥ 39 ॥

उल्लः कन्नर्थे ॥ 40 ॥

अतः स्वमोर् उत्त्वञ्च ॥ 41 ॥

स्त्रियां जशशसोर् उत्त्वञ्च ॥ 42 ॥

भिस्सुपोहिं ॥ 43 ॥

हे हो च डसेः ॥ 44 ॥

हं हुं चामः ॥ 45 ॥

अदन्तात् टा-भिस्-डस्-डिषु

प्राकृतवच्च ॥ 46 ॥

इदु-झ्यां ट एणश्च ॥ 47 ॥

भिस एहिं च ॥ 48 ॥

स्तिष्णामेच्च टः ॥ 49 ॥

हे च डस्ः ॥ 50 ॥

सम्बोधनबहुत्वे हो ॥ 51 ॥

किं-यत्-तदां प्रथमाद्वितीयासप्तमीषु

प्राकृतवत् ॥ 52 ॥

टादी तु पुंक्लीबयोः ॥ 53 ॥

डस्ः सुस्तत्र दीर्घो वा ॥ 54 ॥

यत्तदोर् अमि ङ्ङुं च ॥ 55 ॥

डस्-डयोर्जन्तु तत्रु च ॥ 56 ॥

स्वमोरिदम इमुं न जश्नयोः ॥ 57 ॥

एमु च क्लीबे ॥ 58 ॥

अन्यदेमः ॥ 59 ॥

एतद एहः ॥ 60 ॥

स्वमोर् एहु एहो च ॥ 61 ॥

यत्त-तदेतदां सौ जे से ए ॥ 62 ॥

युष्मदः सौ तुहं ॥ 63 ॥

जश्नसोस् तुम्हाइं ॥ 64 ॥

भिसि तुम्हेहि ॥ 65 ॥

[अस्मदः] अम्-टा-डिषु

मह ॥ 66 ॥

मह-महुं-मज्झ-वो डसि ॥ 67 ॥

अकृति-प्रत्यय-सन्धौ बहुलम्

अज्जोपः ॥ 68 ॥

तुं प्रत्यये च (?) ॥ 69 ॥

इति पुरुषोत्तमस्यापञ्चानुशासने

सुब्विधिः ॥

घातवः परस्मैपदिनः ॥ 70 ॥

तिपस् तो दश्च मसी हुं च ॥ 71 ॥

विघ्यादौ सिष इदुद्-हिकाराश्च थस्य

हुश्च ॥ 72 ॥

इहिल्लिटि ॥ 73 ॥

इसश्च ॥ 74 ॥

मसि कृजः कासः ॥ 75 ॥

त्रैकाल्ये शतृ ॥ 76 ॥

तिष्ठतेस् थक्कश्च ॥ 77 ॥

तिमेस् तिम्मश्च ॥ 78 ॥

दृशेः पस्स-देक्खौ च ॥ 79 ॥

स्थापयतेष्ठवः ॥ 80 ॥

आरुषेर् आरुण्ड ॥ 81 ॥

आचक्षेर् अक्खः ॥ 82 ॥

आपूर्वस्य नेर्णिचि आवः ॥ 83 ॥

व्रजेर् वज्जः ॥ 84 ॥

कृजः करः ॥ 85 ॥

अहेर्गेण्हः ॥ 86 ॥

वदेर्बोल्लः ॥ 87 ॥

मुचेर्मुक्क-मेत्त-मुष्ठाः ॥ 88 ॥

वचेस् चवः ॥ 89 ॥

शेषं शिष्टप्रयोगात् ॥ 90 ॥

अथ अष्टादशोऽध्यायः

ब्राचडापभ्रंशः

अथ ब्राचडकम् ॥ 1 ॥	वृषेर् बर्हः ॥ 12 ॥
षसोः शः ॥ 2 ॥	शेषं प्रयोगात् ॥ 13 ॥
र-ऋतो प्रकृत्या भृत्यवर्जम् ॥ 3 ॥	अथोपनागरकं द्वयोः साङ्क्यात् ॥ 14 ॥
चवर्गः स्पष्टतालव्यः ॥ 4 ॥	सूक्ष्मान्तरास्तुपाञ्चालादयो लोकतः ॥ 15 ॥
तधौ चास्पष्टौ ॥ 5 ॥	उल्लप्राया वैदर्भी ॥ 16 ॥
पदादौ तडयोः टदौ च ॥ 6 ॥	सम्बोधनाडया लाटी ॥ 17 ॥
खङ्गस्य खण्डुः ॥ 7 ॥	इकारोकारप्राया ओङ्गी ॥ 18 ॥
जे-ज्जि-श्चैवस्य ॥ 8 ॥	सवीप्साप्राया कैकेयी ॥ 19 ॥
भवते भोऽप्रादौ ॥ 9 ॥	बहुसमासा गौडी ॥ 20 ॥
क्त्वो भूः ॥ 10 ॥	एवं टक्क-वर्वर-कुन्तल-पाण्डय-
व्रजेर् वञ्जः ॥ 11 ॥	सिंघलादिभाषा उन्नेयाः ॥ 21 ॥

इति श्रीपुरुषोत्तमस्यापभ्रंशानुशासनसूत्रं समाप्तम् ।

अथ ऊनविंशोऽध्यायः

कैकेयपैशाचिकम्

अथातः पैशाचिकम् ॥ 1 ॥	वृकस्य पिक्कः ॥ 13 ॥
तत्र कैकेयम् ॥ 2 ॥	पृथिव्याः पृथुमी ॥ 14 ॥
संस्कृतशौरसेन्योर्विकृतिः ॥ 3 ॥	विस्मयस्य पिसुमं ॥ 15 ॥
अयुक्तानां गजडदवानां कचटतपा बहुलम् ॥ 4 ॥	गृहस्य किहकम् ॥ 16 ॥
घभटथभानां खछठथपाः ॥ 5 ॥	तिरश्च तिरिचं ॥ 17 ॥
कख-चछ-टठ-तथ-पपाः प्रकृत्या ॥ 6 ॥	हृदयस्य हितपकम् ॥ 18 ॥
कखादीनां वान्यत्र ॥ 7 ॥	इवस्य पिब ॥ 19 ॥
णोमः ॥ 8 ॥	क्वचित् कुपचिः ॥ 20 ॥
युक्तानां विकर्षः ॥ 9 ॥	क्त्वा तूनं ॥ 21 ॥
न्यज्ञप्यानां ङ्रः ॥ 10 ॥	टा-ङ्सि-ङ्स-ङ्गिषु राज्ञो राचिर्वा ॥ 22 ॥
पक्ष्म-सूक्ष्मयोः पक्ष्म-सुलमौ ॥ 11 ॥	यूयं-वयमर्षे तुप्फे अप्फे च ॥ 23 ॥
र्यस्य रिचः ॥ 12 ॥	भवतेर् हो-हुवौ ॥ 24 ॥

समाप्तम् इदं कैकेयं नाम पैशाचिकम् ।

अथ विंशोऽध्यायः

शौरसेनपैशाचिकम्

अथ शौरसेनम् ॥ 1 ॥

र लः ॥ 2 ॥

षसोः शः ॥ 3 ॥

चुर् व्यक्ततालव्यः ॥ 4 ॥

क्षस्य श्कः ॥ 5 ॥

चक्षस्य श्रः ॥ 6 ॥

त्थस्य श्तः ॥ 7 ॥

स्तस्य ष्टाविकृतिः ष्टः ॥ 8 ॥

स्तस्य त्थ इत्येके ॥ 9 ॥

पिबतेः पिअन्तः ॥ 10 ॥

कृत-मृत गतानां कड-मड-गडाः ॥ 11 ॥

अधुनादेरद्वुणादयः ॥ 12 ॥

इर् आक्षेपे ॥ 13 ॥

अदन्तात् सोर् ओत् ॥ 14 ॥

अमो वा ॥ 15 ॥

लुक् च ॥ 16 ॥

शेषं प्राकृतवच्च ॥ 17 ॥

पाञ्चालादयः स्वल्पभेदा लाकतः ॥ 18 ॥

लकारस्य रेफः ॥ 19 ॥

शेषं पूर्ववन्नेयम् ॥ 20 ॥

इति श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य पैशाचिकं सूत्रं समाप्तम् ।

॥ सं० ३८५ जेषु लिखितम् उत्तमश्रीज्ञानेन सप्ततिवर्षाधिकवयस्य ॥

APPENDIX D

हरिनामामृत-व्याकरणे प्राकृत-पादः

श्री राधा-कृष्णौ जयतः

पततेर्डोन्नत्यो गतौ ॥ 1 ॥

तस्य दो वा ॥ 2 ॥

पडिदम्

॥ तुम्ह-तुज्झौ युष्मदः प्रथमा-षष्ठ्योः ॥ 3 ॥

त्वं तुंह तव तुज्झ

॥ मम-मह्ययोर्मज्झ [:] ॥ 4 ॥

मज्झ

॥ सवर्णानां सवर्णा-विष्णुचक्रं विपर्ययो वा ॥ 5 ॥

कथम्, कथं

॥ उर्विष्णुपदान्ते वा स्याद् अरामस्य ॥ 6 ॥

सुरु [<सूरः]

॥ ओ-त्वं विष्णुसर्गा ए बुद्धे ॥ 7 ॥

देओ [<देवः]

॥ हर आदौ ष् रामस्य ॥ 8 ॥

काठं

॥ आद्य-सत्-संगान्तस्य हरो बहुलं तिपस् तश्च ॥ 9 ॥

भमइ

॥ किज्ज-कुणौ करोतेः ॥ 10 ॥

किज्जइ कुणइ

॥ वदति-भवतोर्भण-तुंही ॥ 11 ॥

भणइ तुंह

॥ टा ए ॥ 12 ॥

महुराए महु

॥ कृष्णस्य कण्ह[:] ॥ 13 ॥

कण्हेहिमं

॥ भिसो हि ॥ 14 ॥

ब्राह्मणेहि

॥ पञ्चम्या (अ) इं ॥ 15 ॥

बृक्षाइं

॥ हर अरामस्य षष्ठी-बहु-वचने ॥ 16 ॥

रुक्खाणं

॥ अरामहरो नादो बहुलम् ॥ 17 ॥

कज्जं

॥ सप्तम्यां मि द्वित्वञ्च ॥ 18 ॥

मयि (?) अम्मि

॥ बहुषु विष्णुचक्रम् ॥ 19 ॥

देवेसुं

॥ रस्य तणावणादौ ॥ 20 ॥

सिरिताम, सिरिणाम [< श्रीरामः]

॥ हरिकमलस्य हरिखड्गः ॥ 21 ॥

॥ तस्य च ऋ राम इत् ॥ 22 ॥

॥ ख-थ-घ-भानां हः ॥ 23 ॥

तथा तथा

॥ तटयोर्डः ॥ 24 ॥

पडिदं

॥ अथात्र पश्य वो वा पदयोर्जवौ वा बहुलम् ॥ 25 ॥

मदा जवा

॥ संयोग-वीरामस्य वामनत्वं पृथग्भावश्च पूर्वं ॥ 26 ॥

पिरिति

॥ त-रामाद् दहरः पूर्वयोगश्च ॥ 27 ॥

तदीयं, तीर्यं

॥ वर्णानां हरो बहुलम् ॥ 28 ॥

इदानीं दाणिं कृत्वा कइऊण पुनः उण

॥ त्रिविक्रमाणाम् अपि वामनत्वं तथोच्चारितानाम् ॥ 29 ॥

बध् बहु

॥ आलोकने पेक्खि ॥ 30 ॥

पेक्खइ

॥ भावे तुं तूणं ॥ 31 ॥

देवतुणं

॥ परोक्षातीतयोश्च त ॥ 32 ॥

कत गत

इति हरिनामामृते वैष्णव-व्याकरणे प्राकृत-पादः समाप्तः ॥

APPENDIX E

लङ्केश्वरकृता प्राकृतकामधेनुका

ॐ नमो गणेशाय ।

ब्रह्माणमादौ शिरसा प्रणम्य

पितामहं मातरमादिविद्याम् ।

श्रीरावणेनामलबुद्धिशालिना

विधीयते प्राकृतकामधेनुका ॥

विस्तराद् गदितं पूर्वं संक्षेपाद् अधुनोच्यते ।

बालबोधकरं सूत्रं दध्नी यादृङ्-नवोदधृतम् ॥

देशरूच्या प्रतीतानां तद्भवानां निगद्यते ।

लक्षणं नेह यत् सिद्धं तत्समं देशजञ्च तत् ॥

क-च-ट-त-पां प्रायोऽनादौ ॥ 1 ॥

कचटतपां प्रायेण लोपः स्याद् अनादौ वर्तमानानामित्यर्थः । तेन साकं साअं ।

एक शब्दे तु द्वित्वं एककं । जलचरः जलअरो । कपटः कपओ (?) । पातु पाउ ।

प्रलापः पलाओ । अनादाविति किम्ऽकथं कथं चन्द्रिका चन्दिआ उ(ट)ङ्गनः

उडंगणो तव तुअ पूढ्वं पुब्ब पथिकः पहिओ ।

सु-औ-जसाञ्च प्रायेण लोपः ॥ 2 ॥

पहिओ ।

नाचां वर्णाश्रितानाम् ॥ 3 ॥

वर्णाश्रितानाम् अचां लोपो न स्यात् । तथैवोदाहृतम् ;

मो बट च सह्रठचादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् ॥ 4 ॥

मो बटचसह्र रटचादीनि यथाप्रयुक्तं साधूनि स्युः । प्रस्तारं पत्थरं

विस्तारं बित्थरं उद्गमः उग्गमो भ्रमति भमइ शीषं सीसं क्षुण्णं खुणिअं नदी

णई [निद्राति णिद्इ] शय्या सेज्जा हिअण्डि अदडि(?) प्रावृट् पाउसो

पुरुषोत्तमः [पुरुमुत्तिमो] मात्रा [मत्ता] लक्ष्मी लक्खीत्यादि ॥

पततो डोज्जन्ये ॥ 5 ॥

पततो डो मध्ये स्यात् । पतितं पडिदमं इत्यादि ।

तुम्ह-तुज्झो युष्मदि प्रथमा-षष्ठ्योः ॥ 6 ॥

युष्मच्छब्दस्य प्रथमान्तस्य षष्ठ्यन्तस्य च यथाक्रमं तुम्ह तुज्झ च आदिश्येते ।
त्वं तुम्ह तुज्झ इत्याद्य हनीयम् ।

मम मह्योर् मज्झः ॥ 7 ॥

मम मह्योर् मज्झ इति आदिश्यते । मम मज्झ मह्यं मज्झं ।

नै-औ-ड-अ-न-द्विवचन-बहुवचनात्मनेपदानीह ॥ 8 ॥

एतानि प्राकृते न सन्ति । तथैवोदाहार्यम् ।

न भेदः स्त्री-पुं-नपुंसक-कृतः ॥ 9 ॥

इह स्त्री-पुं-नपुंसकृतो भेदो नास्ति । तथैवोदाहृतम् । कव्वं लक्खण-बिहुला
संकरदिज्जा(ण्ण)उसेव कहा । सो पाउ[अ] गोड़ी । भासा या होइ सा होइ
उत्तिविसेसो कव्वो ।

इवे विअ ॥ 10 ॥

[इवे विअ] आदिश्यते च । [क इव] को विअ

उ पदान्ते [अका]रस्य च ॥ 11 ॥

पदान्दे वर्तमानानाम् अचां (अतां) स्थाने उ स्यात् । गृहं घर पिउ सुन्दर
किह (?) पहु चलउ घर खरु कुरु सुरसु सरु सासु ।

अचां विपर्ययः स्वस्थानम् आस्ते ॥ 12 ॥

समान-कालानाम् अचां विपर्ययः स्यात् । इदम् एदं पुरुषः पुरिसो कीदृशं
केरिसं ईदृशं एरिसं ।

ओत्वं विसर्जनीय[स्य] सम्बोधने [च] ॥ 13 ॥

पदानां विसर्जनीयस्य स्थाने ओत्वं स्यात् । देवः देवो विप्रः विप्पो ।
सम्बोधने [च] मातः माओ माए एत्वं च ।

लोप आदौ सकारस्य ॥ 14 ॥

आदौ वर्तमानस्य सकारस्य लोपः स्यात् । काष्ठं (?) कट्ठं स्थानं ठाणं
इत्यादि ।

यरयोर् लोप द्वित्वं चानादौ ॥ 15 ॥

यकार-रेफयोः सर्वत्र लोपः स्यात् । प्रभु पहु भ्रमति भमइ ध्यानम् भाणं ।
अनादौ द्वित्वञ्च वयस्य वयस्स काव्यं कव्वं कार्यं कज्जं ।

[दुब्भ-दुहौ दोग्धेः] ॥ 16 ॥

किज्ज-कुणौ करोतेः ॥ 17 ॥

करोतेः प्रयोगे किज्ज-कुणावादिश्येते । करोति किज्जइ कुणइ ।

वदति भवत्योर् भण-हो ॥ 18 ॥

वदति-भवत्योरर्थे यथाक्रमेणेतावादिश्येते । वदति भणइ भवति होइ ।

भिसो हि ॥ 19 ॥

भिसः स्थाने हि स्यात् ।

ऐतः ए-ह ॥ 20 ॥

ब्राह्मणैः बम्हणेहि ।

पञ्चम्या हि स्यात् ॥ 21 ॥

वृक्षात् रुक्खाहि लङ्कागिरिमेखलाहि । एवं द्विवचन-बहुवचनयोः ।

लोपः आतः ॥ 22 ॥

षष्ठ्या बहुवचने आकारस्य लोपः स्यात् । वृक्षानां रुक्खाणं देवाणं पुरिसाणं ।

अनादौ बहुलम् ॥ 23 ॥

आतो लोपः स्यात् । कार्यं कज्जं ज्ञान्तिः सन्ती । अनादौ किम् ? आसणम् ।

सप्तम्यां मि द्वित्वञ्च ॥ 24 ॥

मिः स्यात् । तस्य द्वित्वञ्च । मयि मज्झम्मि गात्रे गत्तम्मि भिसिणिपत्तम्मि ।

बहुष्वनुस्वारः ॥ 25 ॥

सप्तम्या बहुवचनेऽनुस्वारः स्यात् । देवेसुं तेसुं जेसुं ।

रेफस्य तणाब् अनादौ ॥ 26 ॥

अत्र रेफस्य तणौ स्यातां । श्रीरामः सिरिणामो [पुरुषोत्तमः] पुतुसोत्तिमो प्रकरः पकतो ।

संयोगे वीतो ह्रस्वत्वं पृथग्भावः ॥ 27 ॥

ऊञ्च ईञ्च वी तयोर्ह्रस्वत्वं स्यात् । पृथक् च क्रियते ऊञ्च ईञ्च । पूर्व्वे [पूर्व्वे] श्रीरामः सिरिरामो प्रीतिः पिरिति श्रीवा गिरिवा ।

ताद् लोपः पूर्व्वयोगेः ॥ 28 ॥

तकारात् परस्य दकारस्य लोपः । पूर्व्वेणाच्चा योगञ्च तदा ता तदीयं तीञ्च ।

लोपत्यागौ वर्णानां बहुलम् ॥ 29 ॥

वर्णानां लोपत्यागौ बहुलं स्तः । तीक्ष्णं तिक्खं तिग्गं तिग्गं उदाहार उद्धार उद्धट उभट ।

इदानीं एण्हीं ॥ 30 ॥

अत्र एण्हीं स्यात् । तथैवोदाहार्यम् ।

त्वा ऊण ॥ 31 ॥

क्त्वाप्रत्ययस्य ऊण स्यात् । कृत्वा कइऊण गत्वा गमिऊण ।

दीर्घाणाम् अपि लघुत्वं तथैवोच्चारिताणाम् ॥ 32 ॥

लघुजिह्वया उच्चारितानां दीर्घानामपि लघुत्वं स्यात् ॥ बधू बहु गयाण
साअर अरे रे बाहइ (?) ।

आलो[क]ने पेक्ख स्यात् ॥ 33 ॥

पश्यति पेक्खइ दृष्ट्वा पेक्खिऊण ॥

ऐक्यं त्वरितोच्चारितानाम् ॥ 34 ॥

त्वरया उच्चारितानाम् अनेकेषामपि वर्णानाम् एकत्वं स्यात् । नौखेलनायां
उगमगि दइवडि ख[इख]डि इत्यक्षरत्रयं न बहवः ।

भावे त्त्तणं स्यात् ॥ 35 ॥

देवत्तं देवत्तणं दरिद्रत्वं दरिद्रत्तणं ।

योषिति महिला शब्दः प्रयुज्जते ॥ 36 ॥

इति श्रीलङ्केश्वर-कृता प्राकृतकामधेनुका समाप्ता ॥

APPENDIX F

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणे प्राकृतभाषालक्षणम् (3.VII. I-12)

अथ श्री विष्णुधर्मोत्तरतृतीयखण्डस्यान्तारम्भः सप्तमोऽध्यायः ।

माकण्डय उवाच—

अथातः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि तव प्राकृतलक्षणम् ।
ऋ ऋ लृ न सन्त्यत्र नोष्मानी च श-षा-वुभौ ॥ 1 ॥
मकारहीनाश्च तथा नासिक्याश्च तथा नृप ।
रेफश्च शयवो राजन् संयोगे नास्ति कर्हिचित् ॥ 2 ॥
ऐकारश्च तथौकारः पदमध्ये महाबल ।
ङगयोगे डकारोऽत्र दगयोगे तथैव च ॥ 3 ॥
गययोगे यकारोऽत्र लोपमायाति नित्यदा ।
षणौ युक्तौ पृथक् कृत्वा सणौ काय्यौ विचक्षणैः ॥ 4 ॥
दमौ युक्तौ पृथक् कृत्वा दुमौ काय्यौ तथैव च ।
तनौ युक्तौ पृथक् कृत्वा यणौ काय्याविसंशयम् ॥ 5 ॥
तययोगे तकारस्य चकारस्त्वभिधीयते
ककारः पदमध्येऽत्र वक्तव्यो हल् विवर्जितः ॥ 6 ॥
नकारस्य णकारः स्यात् क्षकारस्य ख इष्यते ।
स्तकारस्य त्थकारश्च जकारस्य ण एव च ॥ 7 ॥
क्वचित् खकारस्य तथा थकारस्य तथा क्वचित् ।
धकारस्य तु वक्तव्यो भकारस्य ह इष्यते ॥ 8 ॥
त्सकारस्य चकारः स्याच्चकारे हल् च लुप्यते ।
युक्ते ष्पकारे तद्धीने फकारोऽपि विधीयते ॥ 9 ॥
चतुर्थी नात्र विज्ञेया न च द्विवचनं क्वचित् ।
पदादौ यो गुरुः सोऽत्र लघुरेव विधीयते ॥ 10 ॥
दिङ्मात्रमेतदुद्दिष्टं मया प्राकृतलक्षणम् ।
प्रयोगादानुगन्तव्यो विस्तरो ह्यतिविस्तरः ॥ 11 ॥

देशेषु देशेषु पृथग् विभिन्नम्
 न शक्यते लक्षणतस्तु वक्तुम् ।
 लोकेषु यत् स्याद् अपभ्रष्टसंज्ञम्
 ज्ञेयं हि तद् देशविदोऽधिकारम् ॥ 12 ॥

इति श्रीविष्णुधर्मोत्तरे मार्कण्डेय-वज्रसंवदे प्राकृतभाषालक्षणं नाम
 सप्तमोऽध्यायः ।

यदक्षरं परिभ्रष्टं मात्राहीनञ्च यद् भवेत् ।
पूर्णं भवतु तत् सर्वं त्वत्-प्रसादात् सरस्वति ॥

